

# THE STANDARD

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## THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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## EDITORIAL.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., April 14.

Leaving the town of Forbes yesterday morning at 6, and traveling all day by coach (not stage, for the driver did not understand me when I two or three times fell into that Americanism) and all night by rail, I have reached Sydney in time to write a little for the outgoing steamer, which sails to-day. It disappoints me that I have not been able to write more for THE STANDARD, but what with the constant speaking, the long journeying (and it is as impossible to write in one of these railway carriages as in the stage-coaches), and receptions, I have been utterly unable to get time for writing.

When I wrote last month I had just arrived in Sydney from a trip to Newcastle and Maitland. The next day we took the Southwestern railway to Goldburn, one of the most important of the interior towns, where I was officially received by Mayor A. T. Ball, taken to the agricultural fair, banqueted, and where I afterward lectured; thence to Cootamundra; thence to Wagga Wagga, where there has long been a knot of active single tax men, W. C. Hunter, a leading business man and owner of a big lot of unimproved land, who has several times written to THE STANDARD, being president of the league; thence to Albury, on the border of Victoria, where we were most hospitably treated. Thence we went to Melbourne, arriving on Tuesday and staying until Saturday, when we went to Sandhurst, where I occupied the pulpit of the Rev. Mr. Keith Mackay in the Congregational church on Sunday evening, and lectured on Monday evening; thence to Echuca, a Victorian border town further west and further down the Murray than Albury; thence to Ballarat; thence to Geelong; back again to Melbourne; thence by express to Sydney.

Leaving my wife in Sydney, as the journey, at the rate we were to push through it, would be too hard for her, I went from Sydney into the electorate of the president of the single tax league, Mr. Charles Garland, M. L. A. I next visited the electorate which Mr. Frank Cotton contested on single tax principles at the last election, and will contest again at the coming election. I was accompanied by Mr. Garland through his district, and by Mr. Frank Cotton and Mr. F. O. Furner, a Goldburn merchant and most ardent member of the league, for the whole way. I spoke in Blaney, Carcoar, Cowra, Greenfell and Forbes. To-morrow (Thursday) we start for South Australia, and are due to arrive in Adelaide on Saturday and to lecture on Monday. We shall go as far as Broken Hill, the great silver mining district, which, although within the borders of New South Wales, is most conveniently reached from Adelaide, and then expect to return to Sydney early in May. Our further programme I will not finally decide on until after this mail is gone, when I can have a chance to talk to the committee here; but I am afraid I will have to give up going to New Zealand, much as we would like to visit that country and to talk with some of our friends there, particularly with Sir George Grey. But the season is getting late, and the trip, unless we were to abandon the idea of returning by way of Europe, involves 2,000 miles of extra voyaging (besides the coasting, which is the only means of com-

munication for the greater part of the islands) through a sea specially tempestuous at this time of the year. Beside the New Zealand trip our New South Wales friends want me to spend another month speaking in this colony. I have received urgent requests to go to Queensland, and have received warm invitations from the premier and attorney-general of Tasmania to pay that colony a visit, and I shall very much dislike to leave this country without getting leisure to see some men and things that constant speaking and traveling have as yet given me no opportunity to see. So that to get home in anything like the time I wish a good deal must be cut out of the programme of things which in themselves I would like to do. We shall probably sail for home via Suez not later than the early part of June and get home by September.

In New South Wales the political division is between free traders and protectionists. In the colony of Victoria there is at present no political division at all, the protectionists having it all their own way, and the government being administered by a coalition cabinet, the nominal free traders of which are content to accept the protective policy as a fixed fact. The free trade party in both colonies has been the party of the large land holders, and is of the brand of free trade which journals like the Evening Post of New York represent in the United States, while the democratic sentiment in both colonies, and earliest and strongest in Victoria, was diverted to the protectionist party. In Victoria protectionism in this shape carried all before it. In New South Wales it came up later, but uniting all the forces of discontent came at the last election within one vote of securing a majority in parliament and the control of the government. The protectionist propaganda in New South Wales has been energetic, enthusiastic, unscrupulous; and their papers evince a recklessness of assertion and a power of evolving such facts as suit them that might, if that were possible, put even the most reckless of our protection journals to shame. For instance, when I spoke at Newcastle the crowded meeting broke up with three cheers for Henry George and three cheers for Mayor Christie, who had presided. The local protectionist paper reported that the meeting had adjourned with three cheers for the queen and three cheers for protection.

Into this struggle, which would ultimately have made New South Wales as protectionist as Victoria, came the single tax. Here, as in the United States, many of the men who first took up our ideas, in part at least, were protectionists, and there came the same internal struggle as to whether anything should be done or said that would prevent anyone from acting with us and being at the same time a protectionist. This was decided in New South Wales when at a conference the name of the association was changed from that of Land nationalization association to that of Single tax league. Fewer in number, but freed from dividing and demoralizing complications, our friends threw themselves into the struggle as straightout free traders, and their efforts undoubtedly turned the scale at the last election. The effect of my coming here has been to accentuate their attitude in this respect. On the one side the revenue tariff free

traders, while they recognize our usefulness in the present, are afraid of us, and on the other hand the whole protectionist rage is being directed against the single tax, and they are denouncing not merely the free trade side of our teachings, but the whole, and attacking the single tax as bitterly as the most devoted adherent of vested wrongs could do, thus more quickly and more clearly drawing the line, not between protection and a revenue tariff, but between protection and the single tax, and adding their weight to the forces that are pushing our principles into general discussion. The effect is already to be seen. I hear of numbers of men, who have heretofore called themselves free traders, who are going over to the side of protection as the best available resistance to the single tax, and on the other hand I meet and hear of men, who have heretofore been protectionists, who are joining our ranks. The movement thus commenced has only to go on somewhat further to make the single tax men the free trade party and to drive the revenue tariff free traders who will not go with it into the protectionist ranks.

Although our people here are desirous that the next election shall be postponed as long as possible, in order to give the influences that are now working our way as long a time in which to operate as possible, the general expectation seems to be that an election will be called very soon after the meeting of parliament, and be held within the next two or three months. But so clear does it seem now that an election would result in a sweeping protectionist defeat that they may deem it the part of wisdom to so moderate their parliamentary opposition to the present government as to induce it to go on with the majority it has at present. In this case two steps in the direction of the single tax are expected by our people from the present government. One, the abolition of some of the present tariff duties, and the imposition of some small tax on land values, and the other, still more important, the adoption of a local government bill, which shall provide for the organization of local governments where none now exist, and which shall give to these local governments, wherever they elect to do so, the power of exempting all improvements from taxation, and of wholly levying their rates on land values irrespective of improvements. A bill of this kind has already been drafted by the government, but is defective in a clause which is open to the interpretation of requiring improvements to be rated. But there seems to be little doubt that this will be amended either on introduction or in committee. The effect of this measure in intensifying the discussion of the single tax and in pushing home the thin end of the wedge would be most enormous. All the cities and towns of New South Wales are stunted by land speculation and land monopoly, and exhibit most glaring instances of the folly and injustice of taxing men for improving, and letting the holders of idle land go free. In this respect they are worse than we are in the United States, for there is a provision in the existing law which requires that where land is rented its actual rent shall be taken as the basis of valuation, and the owner of the most valuable vacant land in or about a city or town has only to let it for a few shillings as a cow or goat pasture to escape with a mere-



ly nominal tax. The passage of the measure will not only bring the principle of the single tax into immediate practical discussion and action in every existing municipality, but it will force the question directly upon the farmers, who, being for the first time brought into the sphere of direct taxation, will be called on to decide whether their improvements shall be taxed, or whether the tax shall be levied on the value of land alone. What their decision will be where they preponderate is certain in advance.

In Victoria my reception was not as warm as in New South Wales, for there protection has been worshipped as ardently and has reigned in public opinion and expression as unquestioned as ever in Pennsylvania. In New South Wales, for instance, I have yet been to only one town where I was not received by the mayor, and in that case the mayor was absent. In Victoria, I had the honor of being received by a mayor in one case, that of Mayor Carolin of Sandhurst, who met me, drove me round, and after my lecture there, entertained us with a large party in the town hall. Not merely has the protectionist sentiment there bitterly opposed us, but, with the exception of Echuca, on the border, the only organization we have is in Melbourne, and this is in the land nationalization stage, being largely composed of protectionists, and the single tax men among them having hitherto been indisposed to take any position in opposition to protection, as hopeless at present. Nevertheless, we were received by a cheering crowd when the train halted at the Melbourne station, and when Dr. Maloney, president of the Land nationalization society, drove us up to the hotel in his carriage, we found there a large assemblage, among them a number of men whom I have long known as friends of our cause. Mr. Robert Jones of the Carleton grammar school made an address of welcome, which was afterward presented in beautifully illuminated form. I lectured in Melbourne for three nights in the large town hall to splendid audiences, which far exceeded my anticipations, and which increased, being even larger on the last night than on the first. If I can trust my own impressions, or accept what our friends said, these lectures produced a deep and strong impression. Our best friends were at the first very much concerned about my attitude toward protection, but they were delighted afterward, and told me that they never believed it possible that any man could stand up before a Melbourne audience and attack protection as I did, and not merely be heard to the very end, but carry the feeling and enthusiasm of the audience as I did.

When I got to Melbourne I found that, without any consultation with me or authorization from the committee in Sydney who have had charge of my lecturing here, a general challenge had been issued to any protectionist to debate with me, and that several having indicated their readiness, the secretary of the Land nationalization society had written to the Trades council, a body like the Central labor union of New York, asking them to name some one to meet me in debate, and that they had thereupon named Mr. Trenwith, a member of the Victorian parliament. Not merely was it no object for me to meet any one in debate unless he should be clearly recognized by the protectionists and protectionist papers as a fitting representative of their doctrines—which was not the case with Mr. Trenwith, whom they commenced to discount in advance—but in the programme that had been made for me no time for such a debate had been allotted. I stated privately and semi-publicly at the Celtic club, where I was entertained after my

first lecture, that this challenge had been without my authorization and consent, and was led to suppose that the matter would drop there. But on the night of my last lecture I was told that this debate was generally expected, and so at the conclusion of the meeting briefly stated what I had stated privately—that I had given no authorization for such a challenge, that there was no time for such a debate, and that I was not disposed to make the implied assumption that the labor associations were the official champions of protection. Mr. Trenwith thereupon asked to speak, and complained bitterly that he and the Trades council had been led to suppose that I would debate with him, saying that he had been reading up for the purpose. So finding that some of our friends were very much afraid of the use the protectionists would make of the matter by claiming that I was afraid to meet a protectionist, I consented to give to the debate the only night which was within my power, the following Monday evening, on which our Melbourne friends were to have given me a banquet. The debate accordingly came off in the Exhibition hall before a crowded audience, which, though for the most part protectionist, gave me their heartiest applause, and so laughed at Mr. Trenwith's alleged facts and preposterous assertions that I did not have to trouble myself to reply to them, but could occupy my time in pressing home the general principles, which, when once fairly considered, will destroy the protectionist superstition in the mind of any one who thinks at all.

My conclusion from my trip in Victoria is that protectionism is there a shell, and that, if our friends will come out boldly and attack it, a free trade party can soon be formed which will bring life into the stagnation of Victorian politics.

In Echuca, on the border, we met some thorough-going single tax men, who have formed a single tax league, and have reprinted some of our STANDARD tracts. The Rev. D. Badger of the Baptist church met me here, and the mayor presided at the lecture, Mr. Badger winding up with a ringing, thorough-going single tax speech. But of our friends there and in other places I must take some other opportunity to speak, as I must close this now.

HENRY GEORGE.

Mr. Peter Cooper Hewitt, the son of Abram S. Hewitt, appears to have been roughly treated by a brutal policeman without provocation or excuse. A cabman was obstructing the passageway, as cabmen are very frequently accustomed to do, when young Hewitt is said to have taken hold of the horse's bit to force him back. Thereupon the cabman struck the young man with his whip, and Mr. Hewitt retaliated by a blow of his cane. A policeman came up and sided with the cabby, and spoke insultingly to young Hewitt, who thereupon made a memorandum of the officer's number. The officer then roughly seized him and dragged him to the station, where the sergeant, of course, sustained the officer. This is simply a fair type of a kind of police outrage which is very common, and which, so long as it's victims are poor or obscure men, attracts little if any attention. Such outrages were a prominent feature of the campaign in which Abram S. Hewitt ran for mayor, and they continued during his incumbency of that office without rebuke from him. Now, however, that his own son has been made a victim, Mr. Hewitt is excited over the subject and intends to prefer charges before the commissioners. We hope that he will do so, and that the brutal officer may first be dismissed from the force and then be indicted and properly punished for assault and battery. May we not also hope that

the experience thus brought home to him, in his own household, may lead Mr. Hewitt to do something to assist toward relieving the people of New York from the danger of assault by uniformed ruffians, who receive their offices through political pulls on the machines who made Mr. Hewitt their candidate for mayor, and which he has always loyally supported.

The protectionist papers are parading rows of figures intended to show that the price of all that a farmer buys has fallen, while the price of what he sells has remained about the same during the last ten years. This is doubtless interesting to the Tribune and its assistants, but we doubt if it will prove effective. The figures that concern the farmer and that are compelling him to take an anxious view of the existing situation are those that he cannot find in any newspaper. They relate generally to the amount of cash on hand with which to pay the interest on the mortgage.

Rev. John Walsh of St. Peter's church in Troy has been preaching a series of sermons on the recent utterances of the pope, and in the course of one of them he declared: "The single tax is a failure. The church condemns it. Henry George may try desperately to save it, but it is doomed. It has done nothing for labor. Religion is the true savior of society and the surest balance wheel between labor and capital." How does the Rev. Mr. Walsh know that the single tax is a failure? It has not been tried. How could it do anything for labor unless it were established? Father Walsh is misrepresenting the pope, and we deny that he can find in any utterance from the Holy See a warrant for his dogmatic assertion that the church condemns the single tax.

During the month ending Saturday, May 10, charters were issued to forty-nine new local assemblies of the Knights of Labor, scattered in all parts of the country and representing a great variety of trades. The order is steadily growing, and it is attracting to it men who have definite opinions not only as to the wrongs to which labor is subjected, but as to the cause of existing evils and the remedy for such evils.

Through one of those provoking errors that a careful proofreader cannot always avoid, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison was made, in our report of his speech to the Unitarian ministerial union, to declare that personal property in Philadelphia is highly taxed, whereas he actually said that it was lightly taxed. When such an error occurs it generally happens that, as in this case, it makes the speaker responsible for an opinion directly opposite to that which he really holds.

The Long Island Weekly Star, published at Long Island City, is not a single tax paper, but it manifests an intelligent interest in all public questions and treats the single tax proposal with a fairness and courtesy worthy of general imitation. All that the single tax advocates ask of the press in general is that it shall let the people really know what our proposal is and give something of the arguments with which we support it, and after that we shall not complain if it does its best to refute those arguments. Fair play and justice are all that the single tax needs to enable it to make its way with the people.

We are glad to see that in his last letter to the Knights of Labor Journal, Mr. Powderly makes a bold declaration in favor of a constitutional convention in Pennsylvania as the first step toward anything like effective ballot reform. This view has already been stated by Chauncey F. Black and by numerous Penn-

sylvanian papers, whose utterances have been quoted in THE STANDARD and favorably commented upon. It is absolutely impossible to have a really secret ballot under the present constitution of Pennsylvania, which requires the numbering of the ballots with a view to their future identification. No voter can possibly feel sure under such a regulation that his vote will not be made known to his employer through some contest, possibly gotten up for the purpose, and the whole success of any true system of ballot reform rests on the absolute and enforced secrecy of the vote.

We can hardly expect that Mr. McKinley will be able to make a satisfactory answer to the queries put to him by workingmen in his own district, and reprinted elsewhere. It will be very singular indeed if any tariff reformer shall fail to be able to demolish the arguments that Mr. McKinley will be likely to put forth. On the other hand, we are curious to know how the five per cent reductionists will answer the question as to the superior prosperity of workingmen in America. It is true that the advantages enjoyed by labor here have been gradually diminished; nevertheless, it is a fact that for many years American workingmen did enjoy advantages over their brethren in other countries, and we should like to know how a five per cent reductionist accounts for this fact. After the workingmen of Ohio get through with Mr. McKinley we hope they will try their hands on some of the mere tariff reformers.

The article on "Senator Sherman vs. History and Law," printed in this issue of THE STANDARD and signed "G.," is written by a gentleman who has been familiar with national legislation, through close observation and contact, for many years, and any one who reads it will see clearly that the writer convicts Senator Sherman of very serious error.

We reprint in full a remarkable editorial that recently appeared in the London Daily Chronicle, commenting on Mr. George's reception in Australia. Parts of the article seem to indicate that the writer is not familiar with Mr. George's ideas and policy, but, nevertheless, the tribute to the work that Mr. George has done in compelling an examination of the accepted tenets of political economy is just and highly appreciative. The declaration of the Chronicle that all civilized people are consciously or unconsciously tending toward what it calls a system of communal land tenure is remarkable as coming from an English paper which clearly is not fully in sympathy with the single tax view, and is, apparently, disposed to criticize Mr. George's views on the ground that they are too conservative. Yet people tell us that the land question is not one of growing importance to mankind.

The address by the Baltimore Knights of Labor to the "conference of charities and corrections" is admirable, not merely for instruction, but as a deserved rebuke to the spirit that animates too many of those who take the lead in charitable work. Let us hope that it will compel some of those who listened to it with interest to do some hard thinking on a problem that concerns them.

#### THE LODGE BILL AND BALLOT REFORM.

The republican caucus of the house of representatives has practically declared its preference for the Lodge bill over the other measures proposing the assumption by the federal government of the conduct of congressional elections. Before this action was taken, however, Mr. Lodge had, himself, so amended the bill as to



eliminate the provision for holding these elections under the Australian system. This demonstrates how unimportant that feature of the bill was in the eyes of its author, and leaves the so-called National ballot reform league in a most ludicrous position.

The Lodge bill is simply one of the many desperate schemes devised by the purchased protectionist majority in congress for partisan purposes. It needlessly violates the established usage of more than a century, is a serious step in the direction of the centralization of power at Washington, and it deserves the support of no one who is not the willing tool of the protected monopolists in this conspiracy to so shape things that they can defy the expressed will of the people after the robber tariff shall have been condemned at the polls. The so-called National ballot reform league—a paper organization started in this city—was designed to induce people to petition congress for the passage of this partisan measure, on the pretence that it was a ballot reform measure, pure and simple.

As soon as the circulars announcing the formation of the league reached this office THE STANDARD warned single tax men against this attempt to make use of their well known sentiment in favor of ballot reform, to lead them into bolstering up a partisan scheme in the interest of protection, and it declared its belief that the Australian feature would be eliminated from the Lodge bill. The fulfillment of its prediction has come sooner than we anticipated, and the small number of single tax men who were betrayed into permitting the use of their names as members of the national committee of this so-called ballot reform league will see that THE STANDARD'S warning against the scheme is already justified.

Single tax men everywhere will save themselves from embarrassing situations if they will utterly disregard everything emanating from the little group of men, with nominal headquarters in this city, who are trying to reconcile their profession of belief in the single tax with a support of the protectionist party.

#### MR. BUTTERWORTH'S REVOLT.

The revolt of Mr. Butterworth against the McKinley bill does not, as some democratic papers seem to imagine, indicate that Mr. Butterworth has ceased to be a protectionist, but merely that he has refused to enter on the new departure taken by his party, of which the McKinley bill is simply the result. The old protectionist theory was undoubtedly founded on the "infant industry" idea. Many men honestly believed that if tariff duties could be so imposed as to promote the establishment of industries that otherwise might not be established in this country, the result would be a rapid and healthy growth that would enable such industries to maintain themselves without assistance, while competition would eventually bring down the prices of their products.

Free traders, of course, deny the soundness of this argument, and insist that the only really healthy growth that any industry can have must be brought about without taxing outsiders to promote it. The other idea, however, found favor in the eyes of a large portion of the American people, and it was deliberately adopted by the republican party as the justification for its protection policy. Mr. Butterworth believes in this idea as firmly as he ever did, and would be fully in line with his party if its legislation were based on this theory.

The fact is, however, that these infant industries long ago grew to tremendous proportions, and they have shown no more disposition to give up governmental aid in the days of their prosperity than they did when they were poor and struggling.

The result is that they have become enormous corruptors of politics, with a view to the continuance of protection, and through their contributions to campaign funds have come to completely dominate the republican policy. Their combinations and trusts have demonstrated the fallacy of the theory that their success would lead to a great lowering of prices, proportioned to the cheapening of production by means of machinery and improved processes, and they have boldly demanded a continuance of protection for full grown industries that are reaping excessive profits due solely to governmental interference in behalf of the owners of such industries. The obligations of the republican leaders to these rich contributors to party corruption funds are to be discharged by the McKinley bill, which proposes to increase taxation for the specific benefit of industries that are already yielding their proprietors enormous fortunes. This is entirely antagonistic to the old protective argument, and Mr. Butterworth is simply representing the republican idea of twenty years ago, instead of the new republican idea, in opposing Mr. McKinley's outrageous measure.

What, if any, result will come from his protest it is difficult to say. Its importance, however, is found in the fact that there are all over the country thousands of republicans who are still protectionists in the old sense of the word, and who would, if they dared, protest against the new programme of their party. Will Butterworth's protest and revolt encourage these men to defy the mandate of the millionaires who are, for selfish reasons, pushing the republican party forward to its ruin? That is a question that events alone can answer, but Butterworth's protest is likely to pave the way for whatever revolt of the kind is possible.

#### RAPID TRANSIT AND LAND VALUES.

The Real estate exchange has grown excited over the failure of the legislature to agree on any rapid transit bill, and it has petitioned the governor for an extra session to consider this highly important subject. The governor has refused this application, and there does not seem to be any good reason why he should have granted it. If the legislature could not agree at the last session there is no certainty at all that it would agree at an extra session. Rapid transit is greatly needed by the people of New York, in order that those who are compelled to live at a great distance from their places of work or business shall be able to pass rapidly to and from their homes without spending a large portion of their life on slow moving trains or street cars. It would be easy enough to understand why a popular demonstration in behalf of rapid transit might be made, but wherein does it concern the real estate men any more than the butchers, the bakers or candlestick makers?

The answer is obvious, but thousands will make it without any comprehension of its real significance. The real estate men want rapid transit in order that they may be able to sell city lots at higher prices. This demonstrates to any one who will stop to think that the effect of a great public improvement is not to confer a benefit on the mass of the people, but on that small number of people who, under an unwise system of taxation and land tenure, are allowed to appropriate to themselves the full benefit of all activity, public or private, that has in view the diffusion of population over a broader surface, or through any other means facilitating the acquisition of homes by human beings.

If the city of New York were to build five viaducts from the Battery to Yonkers, running on each both rapid transit

and local trains, and carry passengers free, rents would not thereby be materially lowered in the long run. Temporarily such a result might be reached, but eventually the full advantages conferred on our people by such an act of munificence would be taken by the holders of the land in the new districts thus made easy of access to New Yorkers. This has already happened in Harlem, and it will happen just as surely whether the improved means of transit are owned by the public and run for nothing or whether they are owned by existing corporations and run at a profit. The corporation monopolizing the transportation will, in the latter event, get profits on its investment, and something more if it has a monopoly, but the landlord will get all that remains. On the other hand, if the people were carried for nothing, the landlord would get the whole benefit. There is but one remedy for this, and that is to make the people the practical owners of the land through the safe, convenient and conservative method of establishing the single tax.

#### MR. POWDERLY ON A NEW PARTY.

Mr. Powderly's articles on the political situation, published in the Journal of the Knights of Labor, are interesting reading, and they indicate plainly that while the master workman of the Knights of Labor is not opposed to a third party, if such a party can be made available for accomplishing good results, he does not intend to be drawn into a foolish and ineffective side-show movement that could do no possible good and might be productive of great harm. Mr. Powderly declares that if one million citizens in the United States will affix their signatures to a demand for a national convention, and at the same time designate who shall call such convention, a third party movement might have a fair show of success, but he insists that those signing the call shall formally promise to cut loose from existing parties when the call for the convention goes out, and pledge themselves to support the new party until such time as they are convinced it has become as corrupt as those now in existence, and he further insists that each person signing such pledge shall state the name of the party with which he has hitherto acted.

Mr. Powderly further says "that the reason why each man should tell what ticket he voted in the past is to more fully commit him to the new party, for the man who is ashamed to tell what his politics are must be ashamed of the party also, and such a man will bear watching." There is another and more practical reason for this proposal. It would, if complied with, enable the managers of the new party to make some reasonable calculation as to their probable sources of strength.

#### HE DOES NOT WANT TO ROB OR BE ROBBED.

Mr. Clarence Moeller of Chicago, in the course of a recent debate, was charged by his opponent (who owned some vacant lots) with a desire to tax him off the ground. Mr. Moeller indignantly disclaimed any such desire. He told his opponent that he did not want to rob him by any plan of taxation, but was opposed to being robbed himself through the misuse of taxing power for the benefit of his opponent. He said: "I am indifferent as to whether your property is taxed or not, or sewered or not, but if it is to be sewered I want you to pay for it instead of taxing everybody else for the purpose." This debate grew out of the drainage controversy in Chicago, in which the single tax men took an active part with a view to compelling the assessment of the whole cost of the new system on the land owners of the district drained by it.

Mr. Moeller thinks there ought to be

no disposition on the part of the single tax men, who believe that the true argument is based on the injustice of private property in land, to oppose those who reach the same results by different methods of reasoning. We fully agree with Mr. Moeller. THE STANDARD was established to advocate the principles clearly enunciated in "Progress and Poverty," and it proposes to continue to advocate these principles and to use the arguments by which they are supported in that book. So far from trying to shut off other arguments, tending in the same direction, it has heartily encouraged every movement of a purely fiscal character looking to the establishment of the single tax, no matter if its advocates rejected THE STANDARD'S own theories.

What THE STANDARD wants is the single tax, and it welcomes as an ally all who are helping to bring it about by the only practical method, which is the successive repeal of all other taxes. It considers this so supremely important that it has little disposition to encourage debates over the abstract questions involved, though of course it cannot allow itself to be put in the position of repudiating its own belief with a view to pleasing its most welcome allies. Mr. Moeller's argument, however, is one that would be equally good in the mouth of a single tax man, limited or unlimited, and it is of a kind that brings conviction to disinterested hearers.

#### STRANGLING A TOWN.

Colonel Isaac D. Smead, the founder of several important business houses engaged in the manufacture of warming and ventilating apparatus, recently made up his mind to build an extensive foundry and wagon works in Toledo, Ohio. He desired to make a contract with the foundry situated in the Fifth ward of that city, and therefore undertook to obtain ground in that ward that would be suitable. He found a site covering thirteen lots, which the agent for the owners offered to him at \$700 per lot. Colonel Smead, after considering the matter, agreed to take them, but the agent said that there was some difficulty about the price. It appears that as soon as the owners learned that there was an actual demand for their vacant lots by some one who proposed to put them to profitable use, they promptly began to raise their prices, until, for some of the lots which had been offered for \$700, \$1,400 was demanded. Instead of submitting to the blackmail Colonel Smead purchased a tract of land elsewhere, and the people of the Fifth ward thereby lost the opportunity to have works worth a million dollars established in their midst.

The Toledo Commercial, editorially commenting on this transaction, declares that the property owners of the Fifth ward missed a golden opportunity, and it severely takes them to task for driving away a man who proposed to invest a million dollars in that portion of the city. It says: "The explanation of the empty acres of unimproved property lying all over the town is given in Colonel Smead's narrative," and that such greed among real estate men prevents manufacturers from establishing themselves in Toledo. It further declares that manufacturers are able to obtain fuel gas cheaper in Toledo than in any city in the country, but that the "greed of the real estate dealers" has driven away outside capital. The Commercial is very severe, and speaks of the land monopolists "as a piratical element."

If the Toledo Commercial will give careful consideration to the subject, it will see that the single tax offers a complete and perfect remedy for the evil complained of. If the vacant lots in the Fifth ward were taxed by the city to their rental



value, Colonel Smead would have obtained them at a low price, and the city as a whole would have benefited by his enterprise. As it is, the supply of natural gas can be of little, if any, benefit to the people of Toledo, as a whole, because the "spirit of greed among real estate men" can be depended on, under existing circumstances, as a permanent force that will divert into the hands of a few all of the benefits that the city ought to derive from its splendid natural gift.

#### ONE TAX ENOUGH.

For some time past those opponents of the single tax who insist that it will not raise enough money to meet the present expenses of government have been coming to the front. They have been answered from time to time in our columns, ever since THE STANDARD was started, but Mr. Thos. G. Shearman recently wrote a series of articles taking up the objections in detail, bringing his own figures down to date and conclusively answering all such objections. We suppose that these figures will now be made the basis of attack by another set of opponents who insist on it that the single tax will raise too much money, but we will attend to them when their objections are made.

We have printed all of Mr. Shearman's articles in an eight-page pamphlet, entitled "One Tax Enough," and any one who expects to be prepared to meet all classes of objections to our movement cannot very well afford to go without this tract (unless he has cut the articles from THE STANDARD and saved them) for the figures given by Mr. Shearman are not easily carried in an ordinary memory, and they are essential to demonstrating the efficiency of the single tax. For all present purposes, this is all that Mr. Shearman has undertaken to demonstrate. He writes from the standpoint of a single tax man, limited, though he insists that the constantly growing wants of government, as our civilization becomes more complex, make it a matter of little importance whether we aim at the limited or unlimited single tax idea.

"One Tax Enough" is an eight-page pamphlet of which we sell ten copies for ten cents, or it can be had in quantities at \$6 a thousand. Mr. Shearman has, at his own expense, caused a number of the tracts to be distributed to single tax clubs, and a number will be mailed to each secretary of a single tax club whose name and address is found in THE STANDARD'S list.

#### MONTANA POLITICS.

If the democratic party of Montana is so weak and stupid as to adopt a protectionist or semi-protectionist platform, we hope that the single tax men will persistently fight that proposal, even if they must go to the extreme of organizing a single tax free trade party. On the other hand, we are not disposed to countenance Mr. Kennedy's apparent disposition to minimize the resentment against the monstrous crime by which the protectionists defrauded the state of Montana out of her proper representation in the United States senate. That was the crowning outrage of all the desperate acts by which the paid attorneys of the licensed robbers have sought to defy the people's will, and we should not like to think so poorly of the single tax men of Montana as to believe they would counsel, under any plea, the submission of the people of that state to so villainous a fraud. No new party, even if it advocated the single tax, would deserve favor or support in Montana if it failed to display sincere indignation against that stupendous act of treason to free institutions and popular government.

Mr. Kennedy's declaration that there is general dissatisfaction with both the

old parties does not impress us, because such talk is generally evidence of the fact that so-called independents are, after all, sturdy partisans. Instead of looking on parties as mere machines or agencies for accomplishing definite results, and using them to that end, men cherish passionate prejudices against this or that organization, and submit to wrong rather than vote with a party that they hate. This disposition accounts for the absurd adherence of western free traders to the party that is committed to the McKinley bill.

Here in New York, we are happy to say, single tax men have gotten over that form of so-called independence which is dominated by intense party prejudice. We loyally worked with the republican party on state issues so long as ballot reform seemed likely to come about through the representatives of that party, and we have as steadfastly worked to force the democratic party into a more radical position on the tariff question, supporting its national policy and its congressional candidates. On these lines we have been twice as effective as we could have been if organized as a third party. While not presuming to judge as to the situation in other states, THE STANDARD looks with extreme distrust on all attempts to organize a third party at this juncture.

#### SENATOR SHERMAN VERSUS HISTORY AND LAW.

Senator Sherman is regarded by his friends, and by many who are not his friends politically, as the best informed—"best equipped" is the phrase—man in public life; and his readiness on all occasions, upon grave topics, would seem to give countenance to the estimation in which he is held. What, then, must be thought of a statement by him, like the following, which he made in the senate January 16, 1883.

After stating, and reiterating, that it had become an axiom among statesmen all over Europe, not excepting free trade England, that "a specific duty should, in every case where the nature of the article allows it, be applied instead of an ad valorem duty;" and much more in the same vein he declares:

"Therefore it is that from 1842, including the tariff of 1846 and every tariff which has been framed in this country from that time, it has been the admitted axiom of legislators that specific duties should be substituted for all ad valorem duties as far as practicable." And he allowed of but few trifling exceptions to the rule.

The idea is inadmissible that Mr. Sherman would wilfully and knowingly misstate the facts; but here are the facts:

The tariff act of 1846, which Mr. Sherman asserted was based on specific duties, is dated July 30. It embraces all imported articles under nine heads, as follows:

On goods, wares and merchandise in Schedule A, 100 per cent ad valorem. These are brandies and other distilled spirits only.

On goods, etc., mentioned in Schedule B, 40 per cent ad valorem. It embraces East and West India products, with wines—all foreign products.

On Schedule C, 30 per cent ad valorem. This schedule contains a great number and variety of articles, including many similar to those manufactured in this country, to which incidental protection was intended to be given by the duty. The list of articles covers nearly two pages of the statutes at large.

On Schedule D, 25 per cent ad valorem. It contains a number of articles of domestic manufacture with others.

On Schedule E, the duty was 20 per cent ad valorem. The list of items is long and various.

On Schedule F, 15 per cent ad valorem.

On Schedule G, 10 per cent ad valorem.

On Schedule H, 5 per cent ad valorem.

On Schedule I, no duty.

It will be seen that there is not a solitary specific duty imposed.

It is worthy of remark, in this connection, that the friends of the tariff of 1842, including Mr. Webster, and Mr. Evans of Maine, his able co-laborer, predicted that this tariff of 1846 would not produce revenue enough to carry on the government; whereas, any reader may see in the annual reports of the treasury department that the tariff of 1846, at the end of five years, produced about twice as much revenue as the tariff of 1842 had ever done.

The next act, dated March 3, 1857, was simply a reduction of the ad valorem rates imposed by the act of 1846. The schedules were preserved by name; some transfers of articles were made; but the ad valorem principle was preserved throughout.

What then shall we conclude, in regard to the sweeping statement of the able senator from Ohio? Why, that he was leaping in the dark; that he had picked up some loose statement of an ignorant newspaper writer and assumed it to be true.

It is incredible that Mr. Sherman would deliberately have made a statement so widely variant from the truth of history, and so easily exposed; and his egregious mistake furnishes another illustration of the truth conveyed in the advice given by an old English statesman to a young friend, that he should visit London in order to see with how little wisdom the world is governed.

G.  
Washington, D. C.

#### JOHN DOE AND RICHARD ROE.

It has recently come to the knowledge of the financial editor of the Independent that the George theory needs to be demolished, and in a late number of that journal he draws the picture of the sturdy pioneer John Doe, whom he describes as having in his youth gone upon the frontier, and by a lifetime of toil to have carved out a fruitful farm and a comfortable home. The Independent proceeds to point out how entirely the farm is the creation of Mr. Doe; how full, absolute and unquestionable is his fee title; and finally, how the man who dares in any way to question his entire lordship over this land is an highwayman or a lunatic. Now it chanced that Mr. Doe's farm lies in my vicinity, and that I, as a country doctor, have lately rendered services to the family of Richard Roe, who is a tenant farmer, and engaged in tilling the farm first subdued by the pioneer John Doe.

Mr. Roe is now in his early manhood, and has been working as hard as ever did Mr. Doe, who "entered the land" at the government price fifty years ago. However, he has scarcely been able to do more than pay his rent to young Mr. Doe, who now owns the farm by inheritance. I was particularly impressed by the narrow margin to be gained over the rent, as I found it was quite unreasonable of me to expect an ordinary fee from one in Mr. Roe's circumstances. Unfortunately, also, young Mr. Doe generally lives in the city, so that I do not have the practice in his family, and cannot, therefore, by any extra fees from him, recoup myself for my loss on his tenant. Mr. Roe told me he was entirely discouraged with farming, and that he should sell off his tools, stock, etc., and next year gather cream for a butter factory. For that he will receive \$2 a day, furnishing his own team and wagon. Of course in certain seasons of the year he will be employed only two or three days in the week, receiving only his per diem for days of actual service.

Perhaps his hardships are no greater than were those of Mr. Doe fifty years ago, but the man who is doing the farm work now has no prospect that he will leave an estate of 240 acres of land worth \$50 an acre, aside from its buildings and other improvements.

Mr. Roe's case, like Mr. Doe's, is a typical one, and there are millions in the United States living as tenant farmers and confronted by the same discouragements that beset Mr. Roe and his family. Mr. Roe told me he would stick to farming if he could afford to buy a farm. Can the financial editor of the Independent offer any plan by which land may be brought

within his reach as it was within the reach of John Doe fifty years ago.

Crops are always good in Iowa, but the vulture, rent, is here to devour them. The poor can no longer get land. Part go to Dakota and part crowd into our towns. The rural population is diminishing in many localities, and that of the state is nearly at a standstill.

For every fine, new farm house, with extensive barns and stables, there are three or four melancholy groups of willows and cottonwoods marking the site of the departed cabins of the departed pioneers. Tenancy also is largely on the increase, and business men find that tenants are undesirable persons with whom to do a credit trade. I forgot to mention that the sickness in Richard Roe's family was due to the unsanitary condition of the old farm house. Young Mr. Doe will put no improvements on the houses, although, as he has an interest in the cattle, he has put the stables in good repair. I wish the able financial editor of the Independent would point out Mr. Roe's rights—Mr. Doe can take care of himself.

IRVING W. SMITH.

Charles City, Iowa.

#### THE TARIFF ON INSURANCE.

"What a peculiar crowd these free traders are! A tariff on insurance, indeed! I have carefully examined the tariff list and can find no such tax. When I heard it I laughed till I thought my sides would crack. It's so absurd that it's funny."

Yes, my jovial protectionist, you can afford to make merry. I paid the tax in cold dollars and cents, and the element of humor was therefore lost to me.

I'll tell you just how it occurred. The insurance on my plate glass having expired, my agent sent me in a renewal with a bill. The premium charged amounted to \$6.72. The amount staggered me. I have only one plate glass, size 180x60. The other three—the insurance covers four glasses—are the two sides and the door. I protested against what I considered an exorbitant premium, and the agent, to mollify me, said he would have some other company estimate. He did so and sent me the company's bill. It was \$6.36. On the other side was written the size and cost of the glasses, a total of \$212.05. This price is a fiction—a list price. The price is fifty per cent less than list price, or \$106; the rate of insurance is six per cent on cost, or a premium of \$6.36.

My friend Jakeway, a well known single taxer who is in the plate glass business, took the trouble to figure out what the same glass, set in window, would cost in London—\$49.33! Insurance at the rate of six per cent, I should pay \$2.96 premium. The tariff cost me \$3.40 additional, or an interest charge on a \$100 three and a half per cent bond. But then I ought to be happy. It nurtures two pauper industries—a plate glass trust and the insurance business. BENJ. DOBLIN.

New York.

#### OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

THE TARIFF FIGHT—WHAT FIVE GENTLEMEN DECIDED SHOULD BE DONE AND WHAT WAS DONE—AND THE WAY IN WHICH IT WAS DONE—A REVIEW OF THE DEBATE—SPLENDID WORK OF THE DEMOCRATS—THE WHOLE INSTITUTION OF PROTECTION FIERCELY ASSAILED—ROGER Q. MILL'S SIGNIFICANT WORDS—MR. OUTHWAITE'S CUTTING SARCASTIC OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE MCKINLEY BILL BECOMING A LAW.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 19.—Within a few hours of the time this letter reaches its readers in THE STANDARD, the McKinley tariff bill will in all probability have passed the house of representatives and gone to the senate. From the time of its introduction there seems to have been no doubt of its passage in the minds of those who had it in charge, and little hope on the part of the democrats of making any alterations or modifications in it. So thorough was party discipline that all the majority were forced into line, even though many of them strenuously objected to particular schedules and parts of schedules. The whole bill has been successfully carried along despite all difficulties.

"We are charged with the duty of revising the tariff, and in doing so to redeem the pledges made to sixty millions of people. Five gentlemen have decided what shall be



done. They have adjusted matters between the industries of a continent, the ten thousand industries which engage the attention of sixty millions, and we are now to pass on that work." These were the words of Benjamin Butterworth in that scathing speech revealing a few of the monstrous abuses which his fellow republicans were fostering in the bill under consideration. Yet how little was anybody permitted to "pass on that work." Debate was limited, the date for taking the vote on "the previous question" was set, the party whip was cracked, all objections were overridden, and that which "five gentlemen had decided should be done" was done, no matter though it did most seriously affect the welfare and happiness of the whole people of a great nation.

As to the debate, no statements have been too gross to be used in defense of the bill; no arguments too absurd or claims too preposterous. Figures have been misused and facts garbled; authorities have been misrepresented and assumptions that have been disproved these hundred times have bobbed up as serenely as ever. Pretensions that were long thought too outrageous to make have been put forward with all the gravity of truth. Less has been heard of our poor city laborer and mechanic and more of the "poor farmer," who hasn't had enough protection these long years, and has, in consequence, fallen into all manner of difficulties and is getting himself all tied up with mortgages. Men who would hotly resent any aspersions against their honor have used their eloquence in support of the most flagrant abuses; others have prostituted their fine capabilities in defense of a cause which their very reasoning proves false. Learned and ignorant, broad-minded and prejudiced, strong and weak, have enunciated the same pernicious principles. Those who should have been conspicuous in their strong manhood to resist tyranny—who should have thrown their whole soul into the effort to build up the republic and make her peerless among the nations of the earth, have deliberately stultified themselves, and denied the truth, and helped to strengthen evil conditions and make the name of republic a term of reproach. All the elements dangerous to our civilization have shown themselves in this debate, and one has but to turn to the Congressional Record to see their workings.

Taken as a whole, the democrats, as they appeared in opposition, have done splendid work. A few men seemed to be governed by selfish motives, and made an effort to get taxation lifted from particular things, but such leaders as Mills, Carlisle, McMillin, Breckinridge of Kentucky, Cooper of Indiana, Crisp of Georgia, Stewart of Texas, Dockery of Missouri and Wilson of West Virginia, kept up a most vigorous and persistent fire on the whole system of protection in general and on each item of the bill in particular, showing the bill to be based on principles that were absolutely false and utterly at variance with democratic-republican institutions. There was no mistaking the tone of these speeches. They were not for "tariff reform" or "revenue reform." They did not stop to ask for a two, or three, or four per cent reduction. They declared the tariff a tax, and a tax upon trade an evil. They were for making trade as free and untrammelled as possible. Mr. Stewart of Texas quoted with much satisfaction and approval quite a long passage from one of Thomas G. Shearman's recent articles in the Forum magazine, revealing the growth of great fortunes and the menace of plutocracy. Mr. Pierce of Tennessee read a tabulated statement from Philadelphia Justice showing to what extent the tariff fosters various trusts. These and other references and quotations scattered through the debate, together with the strong tone of defiance at all times to the "protective" idea, gave unmistakable evidence of the telling effect which the work during the past two years of single tax free traders scattered over the country has had.

"The democratic party maintains," said Mr. Mills, "that taxes should be imposed on such articles and at such rates as will bring the required revenue for an honest and economical administration of the government with the least possible restrictions upon importations, the least possible limitations upon exportations, and the least possible interference with the private business of the people."

Trade is an exchange of surplus products which is carried on between laborers. Each laborer at that in which he thinks he can produce the best results, and with his surplus buys the surplus which others can produce to better advantage than he. The farmers of the south labor to best advantage in the production of cotton and exchange it for shoes made in Massachusetts, bacon cured in Kansas, the flour produced in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, the silks of France, the sugar of Cuba, the coffee of Brazil and the tea of China.

Does this not mean free trade? If present

tendencies continue who shall say how soon we may hear speeches such as that made by Boyce of South Carolina in 1857, when he declared for absolute free trade—the abolition of custom houses—and direct taxation, and pronounced that the true policy of the democratic party?

The preposterous but oft repeated claim that a tariff tends to reduce prices by inducing internal competition has perhaps received no more fitting answer than was given by Mr. Outhwaite of Ohio in a few sarcastic words. He said:

The gentleman [Mr. Mills] insists that the tariff does not reduce the price of the article upon which it is levied. Gentlemen on the other side of the house have asserted the truthfulness of that proposition. Does the gentleman from Texas mean to say that it is not owing to the duty of 10 cents a bushel that the price of corn has gone down since 1875 from 84 cents to 47 cents a bushel? There is a duty of 20 cents on wheat. In 1875 wheat was selling at \$1.12 a bushel in the markets of this country, and last year the average price was 87 cents. Does the gentleman mean to deny that that reduction is the effect of the protective tariff system of the country? I find further that there was a tariff of from 15 to 30 cents on leather; and in 1875 it was selling at 26 cents a pound. Last year this price had fallen to 16 cents a pound. The gentleman certainly will not deny that the reduction is on account of the protective tariff system of the country. On lard, too, there is a duty. This article was selling in 1875 at 13 cents a pound. The rate of tariff duty is 2 cents a pound, and it has gone down in value on account of the 2 cents tariff from 13 cents to 8 cents a pound. Butter, upon which was only a duty of 4 cents a pound, has gone down from 25 cents to 16 cents; and in order to affect it still further and decrease the price of butter I presume, the gentleman having this bill in charge proposes to increase the duty 2 cents a pound, and then I imagine we may be enabled to buy our butter at 10 cents a pound.

It has all along been asserted by some whose experience and knowledge of inside facts entitles their opinions to respect, that it is not intended that the McKinley tariff bill shall pass through congress. It is reasoned: That no move is better than any move that does not satisfy everybody; that it is impossible to satisfy everybody; that to make the sweeping reduction of duties demanded will not only lessen the revenue, but will bring down the bitter enmity of powerful interests which will in turn work for the abolition of other duties; and that to lessen the revenue at all, even by increasing the tariff and diminishing importations, will make impossible the fulfillment of those plans which call for large and continued expenditures from the general treasury.

It goes without saying that large expenditures are intended. To show this reference has but to be made to the extraordinary pension bills, one calling for forty-five millions which has passed the house, and another calling for sixty millions which has passed the senate; to the bills for battle ships and great steel guns; to the number of bills for public buildings; to the great river and harbor bill soon to come; and to other bills talked of as certain to pass and become law. In fact, it is now notorious that there must be retrenchment, for if all the bills which are favorably spoken of are passed all the money in the treasury will be spent, and, indeed, a deficit be made.

Such facts seem to lend a plausibility to the foregoing prognostications; but it is not possible to say with certainty what will be done. This much seems probable, however: hand in hand with measures taken to insure the continuance of a large revenue will go preparations for supervising federal elections and perpetuating the now dominant party in power. These are the two great things in congress to keep in view, and all things else are as nothing.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

#### OUR PARIS LETTER.

THE MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION—COWARDICE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—DESCRIPTION OF MME. VALETTE—MAKING A FRENCH TRANSLATION OF "SOCIAL PROBLEMS"—INTERESTING NEWS ITEMS.

PARIS, May 5.—The workmen's manifestation on May 1 might have had a deeper interest for me a few months ago before I learned of the single tax. I don't say I am indifferent to anything the laborers do to improve their lot. Eight hours? Yes, even that is too much. Here in this country, which the world believes has solved the problem of amusing itself, even here we work too much.

So on May day I stood off, as it were, and watched the wave of progress breaking upon the government. The demonstration, they say, was not a success. Possibly it wasn't from the horn blowing, flag flying standpoint, but I tell you it did one thing we reformers are all glad of—it made the government show its mailed hand. There was the manifestation. The government made it

a pitiful show, pitiful in the very strength of its police and military forces.

Several days before the government seized the leading anarchists, anarchists so they called them (anybody who spoke out was liable to be called an anarchist). Among them was Louise Michel. They haven't got over thinking her dangerous. Maybe when she is dead they will guard her tomb on labor days to prevent a breaking out. Then the government seized the printing presses of many socialists and reformers, among whom was the son of M. Elie Reclus, a signer of the call for last year's Paris single tax congress. Fancy your government seizing the presses of THE STANDARD in Union square, and you can imagine our feelings in this case!

This was all preliminary. Well, the day came at last. The city was filled with troops. The palace of industry, the church of the Madeleine, overflowed with soldiers. The police violently prevented any tarrying. The day's order was "move on." No meeting, no procession, was tolerated. What the Belgian king permitted, the so-called republic of France did not.

Possibly, however, the government is not to be reproached too much for all this. Social reform here is not yet sufficiently separated from politics. In the United States the democratic constitution is so firmly planted that to change the governing men is all that the agitator may aim at. In Europe he cannot get into politics without threatening the very form of government.

It is to be hoped that in France the last week's events will hasten the spreading of social ideas, and of course of the single tax. Even those who are most at variance with the actual constitution would move in that direction. By it they would affirm that the social remedy is to be sought before everything else, and that by applying it political blemishes would infallibly be swept away.

Such was the thought of our friend, the late M. Toubreau, and according to it he always worked as a single tax man. In that respect the 1st of May in France may be taken as a posthumous tribute to the late reformer and a warning to the living.

The newly published work of Mme. Desmoulins, entitled "Going Back to the Fields," (Retour aux Champs) has delighted us single tax men here to such an extent that I would recommend it to our American friends who read French, pending its translation into English.

Mme. Valette, whose review of the spread of the single tax idea was recently translated for THE STANDARD by Mr. W. E. Hicks, is a woman toward whom every lover of real liberty looks with expectant eyes. In writing the review for Mme. Adam's celebrated magazine, La Nouvelle Revue, she became deeply impressed with the truth enunciated by Henry George. She had approached the subject in an impartial spirit as a woman of strong thought and with opinions on all living issues can have done. We are all going to hear more of the little lady—much more. Let me describe her as I last saw her at one of our meetings. Slender, and sandy complexioned, about thirty years of age, with one of the most lovely and intelligent heads ever given to woman. A head that recalls some of the splendid heads of the revolution. Looking at her, one falls to musing till unconsciously faces like Mme. Roland and Charlotte Corday's come trooping up from the past. Splendid head, that—yes, and the voice, too, you say, as she begins to maintain her side in a discussion. She speaks fluently and without any stiffness. She follows closely the idea she is dealing with. She debates better than Louise Michel. The latter is an illuminated woman who works by high leaps of imagination. Mme. Valette is a woman full of mind and reason. From that do not suppose she is forceful, starched. By no means.

During each day she works industriously, giving lessons. She has just been appointed governmental inspectress of the work of miners' children. Of evenings she is out visiting in her coterie or attending lectures. The night, a long part of it, she devotes to reading and writing. All this does not prevent her from having two beautiful children. I fancy she would have been very near John Stuart Mill's ideal woman. He would have been happy to know her and to speak of her in his noble book on woman.

William Lloyd Garrison's article on the single tax in a late number of the magazine has given us all great pleasure. By these articles, which come to us now and then, we seem to extend our acquaintance with the single tax workers in the new world. His phrase, "Hands off, except to arrest the individuals or companies who are laying hands on," is one that has the ring of true liberty.

We are waiting patiently the arrival of Henry George on his homeward journey from

his round the world trip. I am sure he will find a much more eager company to receive him than that of last year.

M. Desmoulins is in Paris frequently these days. He is hard at work translating "Social Problems" into French.

M. Eugene Simon is still suffering from weak eyes, but uses whatever eyesight he has in the writing of his new work, the "French City," on the lines of the "Chinese City," which met with so much success. M. Simon will be remembered as one of those who worked the most enthusiastically for the success of the land congress last summer. M. Simon's home is the scene of frequent gatherings of an informal character, to which public men of prominence are brought within the influence of the single tax.

At one of the recent meetings we had the pleasure of meeting ex-Minister of Finances Tisserand, who several years ago, in one of his reports, boldly declared that the French soil is no longer in the hands of the masses.

CHARLES MARIE GARNIER.

#### NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Boston Post has added a feature to its record of real estate sale that could be imitated everywhere—and especially here in New York—with profit to the paper and with great interest to the public. It is this: The price for which the property is sold is given, and also its value as assessed by the city. For instance:

L. Foster Morse, auctioneer, sold at auction the Conant estate, situated on Washington, Elmore, Grainger, Kingsbury and Kensington streets, Ward 21, consisting of thirty-two lots of vacant land, as follows: Washington street—9,659.60 square feet, with house, to J. J. Johnston, at 51c.; 5,151 square feet to W. H. Partridge, \$3,875; 4,000 do. to H. Morand, 31c.; 4,072 do. to T. Kraft, 33½c.; 4,071.4 do. to P. F. Sullivan, 32½c.; 4,072 do. to J. Andrew, 37½c.; 4,072 do. to H. McDermott, 31c.; 9,324 do. to Sullivan & Maguire, 30½c. Kingsbury street—7,783.5 square feet to Sullivan & Maguire, 26c. Grainger street—3,400 square feet to Frank Kneeland, 25½c.; 3,400 do. to Mrs. Merrigan, 26c.; 3,400 do. to P. F. Sullivan, 26½c.; 3,400 do. to N. Bosse, 23½c.; 3,400 do. to A. Bonze, 26c.; 3,400 do. to J. E. Fay, 21c. Elmore street—8,609 square feet to J. J. Johnston, 35c.; 8,974 do. to F. E. Clark, 33½c. Grainger street—38,404 square feet (11 lots) to P. Maguire, 13c.; 8,173 do. to Maguire & Sullivan, 24c. Kensington street—3,600 square feet to Joseph Sampson, 27c.; 3,600 do. to E. E. Moses, 34c.; 3,600 do. to B. Bay, 33½c. Corner Elmore street—9,967 square feet to T. F. Boleman, 35c. The total amount of sale was \$45,838; taxed for three thousand eight hundred dollars.

Estate Nos. 32 to 35 Pemberton square, sold for \$140,000—a large price in comparison with assessed value, which is only eighty thousand dollars.

And so on. The New York city daily that will report its real estate sales on the above plan of the Boston Post will be much sought after, and be "mighty interestin' readin'."

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Kansas City, Mo.—I received the marked copies of THE STANDARD containing the articles "One Tax Enough." Thanks, I never doubted for a moment that the land tax would produce sufficient revenue. That is not my reason for objecting to the word "single." I maintain, or did maintain, that wealth, usury, incomes, luxury, marble blocks, etc., ought to be taxed, but I am partially converted from that idea by THE STANDARD's arguments concerning the shifting of such taxes. There is something in that idea.

But the tariff—there's the rub. Free trade proposes to exchange a domestic customer for a foreign one. That's all. It cannot mean anything else. Every dollar's worth of goods actually imported deprives our American laborer of just that much labor, and renders him a non-producer and non-consumer to that extent. It is not the tariff that hurts. It is the robbery which it is claimed is made possible by the tariff. An importer's trust would do the work as well. What love has he for the American laborer, who advises our farmers to trade their produce for English and European goods.

GEORGE C. WARD.

Our correspondent is utterly mistaken in declaring that free trade proposes to exchange a domestic customer for a foreign one. Free trade does not propose to interfere in any way with men's purchases or their customers, and free trade and single tax combined will enable every American to have easy access to natural opportunities, so that he can produce whatever he is best adapted to produce. If digging coal be the thing that he can do best, he will dig coal and swap it for shoes and clothes, and so on, instead of stopping digging to try to make his own shoes and clothes. The same will be true as to all trades. Americans will swap their products for the products of other Americans so long as they can do so profitably. If it shall turn out that they can obtain more of the goods that they desire by swapping with Englishmen than they could get by making such articles themselves, then the same reason that makes it desirable that



the coal digger shall dig coal instead of trying to make shoes will make it desirable that Americans shall get the foreign article by swapping instead of making a similar one at greater expenditure of labor to themselves. The thing that workingmen want is not work, but the products of work. Therefore "every dollar's worth of goods actually imported" does not "deprive our American laborer of that much labor," since he must produce something to swap for it. If, however, the labor expended in producing the thing that he trades for a foreign article that he wants is less than that required to produce it, it is so much better for the American laborer. Now, we beg our correspondent to think about this. Let him consider what it is that laborers want, and remember that they sell labor, and that alone. Let him consider that though they produce goods they do not sell goods, and on the contrary that they buy goods very largely. Our correspondent will then see that a tax on goods cannot help labor and does increase the cost of labor, and so far as it makes more labor for our people, makes it by giving them harder work in order to attain a given amount of goods. Why will people not understand that we are not going to bring goods three thousand miles unless in that way we can obtain them more cheaply than we can make them ourselves, and that goods will not be sent to us three thousand miles unless we produce something by labor to exchange for these goods. Since our correspondent has got along this far he has but to do his own thinking to get the rest of the way, and understand that every tax on production is an injury to the consumer which falls with special hardship on the poor. It is the tariff that hurts. A high tariff hurts more; but any tariff hurts. Freedom to exchange is as important to effective labor as is freedom to produce, and the tariff restricts freedom to exchange.

The New York Times has a dispatch from Buenos Ayres which tells of "grave speculations" that have been discovered in the customs department, and says that is estimated that the embezzlements have reached the enormous sum of \$10,000,000. Well, that is only a case of a thief robbing a thief.

"The largest acre sale of city property during the present year," says the Chicago Times, "so far as the consideration is concerned, was closed last week by which the old Willard homestead, comprising seventy acres, and located just south of Jackson park and the Hyde Park water works, changed hands. The price paid was \$350,000, or \$5,000 per acre. The purchaser is the Turner estate of St. Louis. Nothing better illustrates the extraordinary rise in value in Chicago property than this transfer. Mr. Willard, who was at one time the agent of the bank of Montreal in this city, entered the land some time in the '40s, paying therefor \$2.50 an acre, or \$175 for the entire tract. In 1867 he was offered \$16,000 for the land; in 1873 \$68,000, and four years ago a well known local broker offered him \$105,000 cash. All of these offers were refused. Today Mr. Willard receives \$5,000 an acre for what, about forty-five years ago, he paid \$2.50."

All that remains to be done to open the Sioux Indian reservation to settlement is the proclamation of the president, which he seems to be slow in issuing. Meantime the opinion is spreading that, when the reservation is opened, the actual settlers are going to be, to a large extent, "left." New York land companies even now have agents hovering on the lines, ready to grab slices when the time comes; three railroad companies are waiting to plaster the reservation with unplanted land grants; thousands of boomers and speculators are waiting the signal. All these people are well supplied with food and money, and can wait. But to the actual settlers—those who want to secure homes on this tract—each day of delay is a great hardship. If Mr. Harrison delays his proclamation long enough they will be starved out, and the ground will be left clear for the others.

What is the matter in Kansas? The editor of the Topeka Jeffersonian says he was told last week, by the editor of a prominent old party paper in one of the populous central counties of that state, that after a careful canvass of the county, not a single farmer could be found willing to serve as a delegate to either the republican or democratic conventions. This argues ill for the two parties.

How does Phineas T. Barnum, the circus man and high protectionist, like the duty that was imposed on him when he exported his circus from New York city to Brooklyn? The pauper circuses of other states of the Union have had in the past to pay to the

Brooklyn government a tariff tax of \$500 a day for the privilege of selling to the Brooklyn people a sight at the foreign born pauper elephants, foreign pauper horses, pauper acrobats and other foreign pauper et ceteras; but the Brooklyn congressmen-aldermen concluded that that figure was not high enough to keep foreign circuses from competing with the home circuses, so they increased the duty 600 per cent. It is said that instead of being pleased—as a high protectionist should—with this increase in the tariff, Mr. Barnum came very near swearing. He protested, but in vain. The result is, that in future Mr. Barnum will have to keep his pauper circus out of Brooklyn, and thus the home manufactured merry-go-round circus, while inferior in every respect to Barnum's circus, will have control of the home market.

John Brodsky, the new leader of the John J. O'Brien republicans of the famous "Ate" assembly district of this city, is a far-seeing man—a statesman, in fact. The mission of his organization is to "pound" the blue haired element of the republican party into a recognition of it as the bona fide republican party in that district. But Mr. Brodsky sees what is in store for his party if it does not mend its ways. He says that if it keeps on in the direction it is going, the job of annihilating the republican party can safely be left to the party itself.

The Philadelphia North American says that the effort of the New York musical union to prevent the landing of the Strauss orchestra is "ridiculous nonsense" and "a piece of demagogism." Yet the North American is in favor of a high protective tariff "in the interests of American labor." There is where the tariff is weak—it keeps out goods, but lets in free the foreign laborer who can make those goods. It is pleasant, however, to see the protectionists expose their hand once in a while. One of these days the horny handed sons of toil will take what our east siders call "a tumble," and when they do protection will tumble also.

The Central labor union of Indianapolis has at least struck a keynote. The union has written a letter to the common council and board of aldermen, in which it protests against giving street railway companies the privilege of using the streets in future unless they pay for it.

The Pittsburg Dispatch is complaining that the property owners are standing in the way of business expansion in that city. Pittsburg has, it says, made marvelous strides in industrial development within the last few years, increasing its business so as to occupy seventh place in the list of clearing house cities; but now its business men find that there is a lion in the path. The land owners stand in the way of the city's development, holding their property at rents that it is well nigh impossible to pay and do business profitably. The Dispatch wants these people to "get out of the way." Why should they? Doesn't the land belong to them?

Orange County, N. Y.—The farmer's wife, to whom, in a recent issue of THE STANDARD, Dr. Mendelson appeals to convert her husband, feels in need of a little further enlightenment herself before attempting that herculean task.

We fully appreciate the fact so clearly shown by the doctor's statistics, that land in New York city does not now bear its due proportion of taxation, and we cordially endorse his efforts for the abolition of the burdens imposed by the tariff taxes.

On these points we need no additional argument, being already convinced; but they both seem a little aside from the main question—shall personal property be exempt from taxation?

Since we all share equally in the protection and the benefits resulting from the maintenance of the governmental machinery for which our taxes are supposed to be paid, why should the man who chooses to invest in securities other than land be excused from paying his share toward the necessary expenses which are quite as much for his convenience as ours?

And when a certain amount of money is to be raised in a town or state, if half the property holders pay nothing toward it, by what arithmetical process can it be shown that the other half will not have to pay twice as much as if the tax were equally shared?

To say that personal property cannot be reached is a mere begging of the question. It is always easy to say that any reform cannot be carried out, but does not the true spirit of reform aim rather at overcoming difficulties than at getting round them?

To release the holders of personal property from any further claim of taxation, simply because they have so far succeeded in eluding its payment, seems very much like placing a premium on fraud. The recognition of the injustice of taxation without representation was the cornerstone upon which our republic was founded; and is not the injustice of representation without taxation equally evident, since taxes support our representatives?

These questions are asked in no spirit of carping criticism, but from a real desire for a broader view, if such is to be had.

When I am furnished with satisfactory answers to them, it may become worth while for me to try and convert my husband, but until then it would certainly be energy wasted.

THE FARMER'S WIFE.

"The Farmer's Wife" simply repeats the old arguments which have been answered again and again. What kind of securities other than land can a man invest in? They must necessarily represent capital advanced to promote production in some of its forms. Therefore a tax upon such securities tends to retard production. As a matter of fact, however, the people who make this objection usually have in mind mortgages, railway bonds and other evidences of indebtedness that are based on land and, in the case of railways, on land to which the state, through the exercise of a sovereign power belonging to the whole people, has conferred a great special value.

The fact that personal property never has been reached successfully is one that those who seek to establish a just system of taxation are bound to take into account; but the other fact that personal property is invariably the product of human labor, is a sufficient reason, of itself, for not imposing taxes upon it. Our correspondent asks, if a certain amount of money is to be raised in a town or state, by what arithmetical process it can be shown that one half will not have to pay twice as much tax if the other half escapes all taxation? We know of no arithmetical process by which this can be shown. At present, however, everybody who lives either in a town or country pays ground rent, either in the form of rent or purchase money, which latter frequently necessitates the annual payment of interest. This tax is paid by every one, and no one can by any possibility escape it and continue to live in a civilized community. The single tax men propose not that half, but that all of the community shall continue to pay this tax, but that they shall pay it to the government instead of to private individuals who now improperly appropriate it to their private use. As every one will thus pay taxes, the question of taxation without representation cannot be raised.

In truth, the single tax is not a tax at all in the ordinary sense in which the word is used. It is a just payment by each individual to the community for the use of so much of the common property as he chooses to appropriate for his own personal advantage. He gets a full equivalent and the community obtains a revenue that belongs to it as fully as his wages belong to the laborer. A sufficient public fund having been raised in this fashion, why should "The Farmer's Wife" want people to be taxed at all? Does she think taxation is a good thing?

Mr. P. J. McGuire, secretary of the Brotherhood of carpenters of the United States, has sent a circular letter to all the leading newspapers, labor journals and all the national trade and labor organizations of Europe, warning workingmen, especially carpenters, not to come to this country in search of work. It appears that agents are now scouring Europe for workmen, promising high wages, steady work, cheap living and low rents. To offset the promises made by these agents to the laborers of Europe, Mr. McGuire asserts several things that will be interesting reading to the workmen of this country as well as of Europe—especially such as are protectionists, because protection makes wages high. Therefore THE STANDARD gives them space. He says:

The carpenters of America are by no means as well off or as well paid as these capitalists and their agents would have European workmen believe.

Work here is already unsteady—at best will average eight months a year, and the general rule is ten hours a day.

Men shift very frequently from one employer to another for want of steady work. Competition is keen and intense, and a big day's work is expected from each man.

Machinery and new inventions constantly reduce the demand for labor, and with the incoming flow of immigration only add to the large glut of idle men in this country.

This has tended to reduce wages, so that now in numerous cases workmen here are not any better paid than in England, while the cost of living in America is very high on account of the trusts and monopolies which control the price of food, etc., and fix it at an exorbitant figure.

Let's see: Which one of the leaders of the labor movement was it that said in the last presidential campaign that "Protection means more beef?"

It used to be the case, and it is a reasonable supposition that it is so now, that when a prominent citizen died—especially one who had accumulated a fortune in business or otherwise and had left large bequests to existing charities or toward founding a new charity, or a hospital, or a library, or something else—for the school teachers to set his life and doings before their pupils as examples to be

emulated. After the minds of the children had been properly prepared for questions, the teacher would say to them, about thus:

"Who was Mr. So and So?"

Answer: "He was a philanthropist, who, when he died, left his vast fortune to charity and other institutions intended for the advancement of his fellow man."

"Correct, children. Now, how did he attain his competence?"

"By industry and frugality," would be the parrot like answer.

"Correct again, children. You can now go out and play. But remember that if you would succeed in life and be honored after death, you will keep the example of Mr. So and So ever before you."

These questions will undoubtedly be asked and answered about him in the schools of Michigan after General Alger has retired from among us, so the following, from the New York World, might be saved by the Michiganders for reference after that melancholy event occurs:

Russell A. Alger landed in Detroit at the close of the war without a cent. He now owns 300 square miles of pine land in Michigan and is worth \$20,000,000, and believes in a tariff on lumber to "protect American workingmen."

"The pine woods of Mississippi belong to whom?" asked a lumber king at the Fifth avenue yesterday. "To Mississippians, you suppose, no doubt. But there are pine barons and pine barrens both out in Michigan, and in consequence of the latter the former have begun to buy up all the timber they can find anywhere for sale. They already control Michigan commercially and politically. When they get a state or two more into their hands they will be able to form a political lumber trust. These men now control the lumber interests of Mississippi, but they have let its politics alone so far. They have also bought heavily of pine lands in Georgia and Alabama. General Alger and his friends have gone in largely for similar investments on the Pacific slope. Alger now owns the biggest tract of redwood land on the coast."

A short time ago the secretary of the enrolment committee sent a letter to P. W. Monahan of Montrose, Col., thanking him for the good work he had done in his section in securing signatures to the petition and otherwise forwarding the single tax movement. Mr. Monahan's letter in reply showed that he was pleased at the recognition accorded him, but denied that he was entitled to any thanks. Said he: "I am not working for money or glory. I am working for the cause of humanity the world over, and for your humble servant in particular. I know what I want. I know my rights and what I am entitled to, and I'll never think that I have done my full share in the work until I have everything that of natural right belongs to me, and all other men have the same. So you see by my selfishness that I am not entitled to any thanks from anyone. I have a 'natural opportunity' to work, and I lose no time in improving it for liberty, truth and justice; and I say hang the man who can't work for these things without thanks, money or glory." A splendid spirit, truly. May the zeal that animates Mr. Monahan spread fast and wide among our fellow citizens!

The Sun (protection) says, with a sneer, that "time will be called on the tariff talking match" to-day at noon. True; "time" will be called on the tariff talking in congress, but it will continue among the people, just the same. Neither Dana nor his crew will be able to call "time" on them until free trade, absolute, is an accomplished fact.

The Pearsall Sun of Texas announces that it has on hand a large number of single tax congressional petitions, and it invites its subscribers and the public to call at its office and sign them. This is a good idea, and might be adopted by others of our friends.

The single tax association of Toronto, Canada, is evidently in sympathy with the idea of filling the country with Chinese coolies. In this respect it follows closely on the lines of the great apostle of single tax, who always deprecated all anti-Chinese movements on the ground that they interfered with the principles of free trade.

Mr. Ralph E. Hoyt of Los Angeles sends the above clipping from the San Francisco Chronicle and states that he presumes it is false. We cannot answer as to the action of the Canadian society referred to, but the story is certainly false so far as it relates to Mr. George's views, and any California paper ought to know that it is false. Mr. George is opposed to the migration of Chinese to this country for reasons that he has frequently stated. They are not economic reasons, but relate rather to the character of our inhabitants and the dangers resulting from an attempt to assimilate an entirely alien race.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

## INDIA, AFRICA AND "FOREIGN BOSH."

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: A letter in the current Christian Advocate from the venerable William Taylor, missionary bishop for Africa, contains the following significant paragraphs:

"The countless millions of poor people of India and China are, in the main, shut out from the resources of the earth. Most of the land is owned by big 'Zemindars,' or land monopolists, and the poor are not allowed to dig a hole in the ground except on conditions that allow but starvation rates of subsistence."

"Africa, on the other hand, has the most liberal land laws in the world. I do not believe that there are any African men and women on that great continent who may not, in the bounds of their own tribe, make their own selection for a farm and a home in the unoccupied domain, and possession is their warranty deed so long as they choose to occupy it. Any exception to this would be, if any, near the coast border, where they learn foreign 'bosh.'"

C. M. MORSE.

## LAND VALUES IN CALIFORNIA.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: The article by Mr. Goodloe, in THE STANDARD of April 30 shows that land values in cities are derived partly from the population of surrounding states whose trade they draw, and not entirely from their own people. New York and Ohio, the instances of large land value in proportion to population, both have large cities which draw trade from surrounding states. Such comparisons, however, are not any too reliable, as the percentage of assessed to actual value varies greatly in different states. Another thing to be considered is, that he has taken real estate instead of land values, thus including improvements. He makes one mistake, in asserting that all states east of the Mississippi show greater real estate value in proportion to population than those west of it.

California shows a higher valuation in proportion to population than either New York or Ohio. Our population was about 864,000, real estate assessment \$491,885,079—nearly \$600 per capita—while that of New York was less than \$500 per capita. In 1883 the assessed value of land exclusive of improvements was \$715,205,059. In addition to this the railroads were assessed at \$43,242,652, which of course includes some millions of land value. This shows a land valuation of at least \$500 per capita upon the estimated population, a higher valuation per capita than the entire real estate valuation of New York in 1880 shows. Property must be assessed nearer to its actual value here than in New York, though no doubt the "glorious climate of California," which of course belongs to her land owners, cuts some figure in the case.

The land valuation per capita varies widely between the different counties of this state, though I can only roughly approximate it, as I have not the county valuations for 1880 nor the population for 1888, but it certainly varies from about \$200 to \$1,000, that of this city being about \$500. The effect of "climate" and booms is shown plainly in this comparison—the valley and southern counties showing a high valuation per capita, the mountain counties a comparatively low one.

I believe that justice to the people of different localities would necessitate a constitutional amendment as to federal taxation and also some adjustment by which the people of those portions of a state containing but little land value could obtain a portion of the revenue drawn from land in cities and other rich locations whose value they are partly instrumental in creating. As to that, however, the raising of state revenues by the single tax would relieve the people of such locations from a large share of the state taxes now paid by them, without other change. In some of our mountain counties the value of personal property and improvements is considerably greater than the land value, while in this city the land value exceeds that of all other property by more than \$20,000,000, and in some counties containing growing cities, where speculation has been active, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the total assessment is land value.

W. G. SELLERS.

San Francisco, May 6, 1890.

## POTTS OR CABBAGE—WHICH?

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: It is not a matter of surprise that we should hear complaints about the civil service rules, when we consider that they are subject to man's imperfections. But it is a matter of surprise to me that Mr. Potts, secretary of the civil service commission, should not be able to see the difference between himself and a peck of beans. As we have the gentleman's own ac-

knowledge to that effect, I think the public should know it. Mr. Potts, in reply to a question put to him at the close of a lecture he delivered before the Brooklyn philosophical society, said that if he was a slave he would be capital. Now, beans and cabbage both are capital. He had previously stated that land is capital; but, very unfortunately for his argument, had shown the truth that all capital went back to mother earth; was subject to decay, etc. When asked if the land owned by the Astors had decayed much lately, he explained that the Astor family might die off, entirely ignoring the enduring character of land as a milking stool to sit upon while draining the public cow. Would such mental shuffling as this be tolerated in examinations before the civil service commission. Now I would ask Mr. Potts if land is capital and a cabbage is capital, and if he, by any act of the legislature, can be made into capital, or vice versa, as in the case of the slaves, then has he nothing but an act of the legislature to guide him in distinguishing between himself, a bed of clay, a peck of beans or a cabbage?

Now, whether viewed in the light of religion, or in that of the Declaration of Independence, which means equal rights within the community, his position is, to say the least, peculiar.

If an act of the legislature passed, say at the dictation of Tammany hall or Boss Platt, can make capital, capital ought to be made at once in unlimited quantities.

Brooklyn, E. D.

F. J. DEVERALL.

## THE EAST BUYING THE WEST.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: A mammoth real estate deal has just been consummated here, the particulars of which will interest single taxers.

A year ago our largest dry goods establishment secured land upon which to build a store room for the sum of \$264,400. The land has now been sold to the Boston land lease company for \$480,000—showing unearned increment to the amount of \$215,600—for one year. The dry goods company has a ninety-nine years' lease on the land, and agrees to pay the Boston syndicate \$24,000 a year ground rent.

This is an instance of how Kansas City, as well as Kansas, is becoming mortgaged to the east. But the simple folk actually appear to like it. Here is what one member of the dry goods house says to a reporter for the Times:

"Yes, I do not doubt that it is the largest cash deal ever made in the city—at least I can recollect of none that will equal it. But what pleases me most is the abiding faith in Kansas City that it shows on the part of the Boston gentlemen. Already they have large interests here, and an investment of such magnitude is the most convincing proof of how the outside financial world regards this city. It is bound to benefit Kansas City in the east where capitalists already have a pretty good opinion of the city's future and a proper appreciation of the value of investments here."

"Will Mr. Adams and the others in the syndicate stop their investments in Kansas City now?" was asked.

"No," Mr. Moore replied, "Mr. Adams and his associates are willing to make further investments in Kansas City. They are willing to put their money into desirable property, well located, but it must be property that will advance in value. They have perfect confidence in the future of the city and regard investments in this city as sure of yielding handsome profits. While this investment is pretty well up town they have not lost faith in the north end, nor has their faith in that section of the city been shaken in the least. Mr. Adams already has interests on North Main and Delaware streets and he believes that the Second street belt line, with the railroads it will bring into the city, will greatly enhance the value of his property."

While such deals are being made Kansas City is inviting manufacturers to locate here, to be taxed along with the rest of us for the benefit of these landholders.

HENRY W. ALLEN.

## SOME CORRECTIONS.

To the Editor of The Standard. Sir: In the few words I said last week about "Free Rum," I said: After "1835" wines and cider were included in the temperance pledges. THE STANDARD printed "1885."

I said the prohibition law was enacted soon after "1853." THE STANDARD printed it "1843."

PA CHASE.

St. Louis, Mo.

## A TWO-STORY CITY.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I would like to suggest an idea for rapid transit in your city. Let the city be raised one story. That is, take Broadway as an illustration: Lay a stone wall on each side to the height of the first story of existing buildings, connect these stories by iron girders and lay on these a stone floor. Let that be the street and underneath run your railroads for passengers and freight, your telegraph and electric light wires, and so on. What are now your store fronts would then

be your basements and all goods could be taken in and discharged from these basements, and garbage, ashes, etc., removed out of sight. The business seat will then be clean and neat as a parlor.

Seneca Falls, N. Y.

T. J. SKIDMORE.

## PERSONAL.

Among those elected by the Boston typographical union to represent it at the annual convention of the International union is James R. Fultz. The New York Union Printer says he is the youngest delegate, and has been to the front in union matters ever since he has been a member. There is nothing surprising in that, however, for he is an outspoken and earnest single tax man.

The Sharon, Mass., Advocate of May 9 contains W. I. Webber's sixth letter on the social problem, entitled "The Single Tax and the Farmer."

Joseph Dana Miller has an article of nearly three columns in the Watertown, S. D., Journal on "Wages."

Our Long Island friends continue to keep the single tax before the people. The last number of the Flushing Journal has two letters on the subject, each a column in length, from Theodore E. Lane and James W. Treadwell.

James Malcolm has an interesting letter in the Chicago Herald on "Strikes from a Single Tax Standpoint," in which he shows how much more easy it would be for the workingmen to gain their point of less hours by a combination with their employers against landlordism.

THE STANDARD learns from Boston, with regret, of the death of Mr. John R. Roche's only daughter, aged three years.

Colonel H. Martin Williams delivered an address on taxation at Bevier, Missouri, on the evening of May 3. There was a large attendance, the occasion being an entertainment for the benefit of a proposed library and reading room. The colonel writes that there are a good number of splendid, enthusiastic single tax men at Bevier, and the number is rapidly growing.

Oliver T. Erickson of Minneapolis has been writing a series of very able articles to the papers of his city on the single tax. The best of them, entitled "Rent in Minneapolis," was printed in the Northwestern Labor Union last month. In this article he shows how every year millions are taken from labor's wages by the landlords. It is illustrated with diagrams, and points the same moral as the celebrated Buffalo diagram which appeared in these columns about a year ago. In a second article in the Labor Union Mr. Erickson shows how, under the single tax, the workman could make a home for himself for at least one-half of what he has to pay now. The Minneapolis Journal has letters from his pen, in which he sets forth more briefly the ideas enlarged upon in the Labor Union. Mr. Erickson is an influential citizen of Minneapolis, and, being a public official, what he has to say on matters of public interest is sure to be closely read.

Mrs. Mary M. Clardy is at present at Fort Worth, where she is advocating free trade to women. She writes encouragingly of the progress of her work. She needs tracts and other literature, which can be sent to her in care of Mrs. L. Calhoun, 310 West Belknap street, Fort Worth, Texas.

John Fleming of Spangle, Washington, had for some time been discussing the single tax in its relation to farmers with the editor of the Philadelphia Farm and Fireside. In March, Mr. Fleming sent a letter in which he set forth his own case as a farmer. His argument was favorable to the single tax; and probably for that reason it was rejected. However, Mr. Fleming has his consolation in the fact that there are hundreds of editors in the country who have done to others precisely what the editor of the Farm and Fireside did to him. Average editors have a weakness for discouraging, with owlish wisdom, on subjects of which they know nothing; and when they are brought to bay by some one who knows whereof he writes, they close the argument by rejecting the manuscript.

Hon. E. A. Pearsall of Chenango county, this state, introduced in the late legislature a bill to tax mortgages. It failed to pass. But the fact that he introduced such a bill shows his interest in the question of taxation. At least, so thinks Mr. Elmore Sharpe; and acting on that belief he has written an open letter to Mr. Pearsall, which appears in the Chenango Telegraph, pointing out the inadequacy of his mortgage taxing measure. Then Mr. Sharpe shows that there is only one thing that it is safe to tax—land values. "Put your tax on the land," asserts Mr. Sharpe, "and you reach the landlord and the land shark. Spread it on until he will gladly part with it; until he is willing to give up the empire of his holdings heretofore kept in idle-

ness, and surrender and sell it to men that are glad to use it, and devote it to the benefit of mankind. You thus make economic rent do manifold service in discouraging debt making and interest as well, restoring to all access to the land and natural opportunities to labor, and live and enjoy the fruits of their labor, quicken trade and commerce, reward thrift and emancipate industry." The Telegraph says that Mr. Sharpe's letter is "interesting reading," and so it is; and it is to be hoped that it will have its effect on Mr. Pearsall.

The interest that farmers are taking in the single tax is being made manifest by the way in which the farmers' papers are opening their columns to the discussion of the question. From all parts of the country come journals of that class with letters from our friends explaining our ideas. The latest is the Orchard and Farm, printed at San Francisco, which has a letter from Joseph Leggett on the single tax, in which he states our doctrine in a sentence, as follows: "The object of the single tax is to encourage the use of land and to put a premium on the best use of land."

Mr. David R. Goodloe of Washington writes a letter to the State Chronicle, published at Raleigh, N. C., in which he says that while a boom in real estate is a sign of prosperity in a community, its tendency is to retard the prosperity that creates it. Mr. Goodloe, without calling it by that name, makes an excellent single tax argument, and it is a good idea to put such an argument before the people of North Carolina who probably have thought very little on the land question.

Judge James G. Maguire on May 2 delivered an address in Oakland, Cal., in defense of labor organizations. The address was a reply to a speech made against organized labor a week before by Irving M. Scott, the principal owner of the Union iron works.

It is pleasant to be able to record the fact that the play of "The Shutehen," spoken of in these columns two weeks ago, is a financial success—pleasant because one of its authors, Henry Doblin, is a single tax man. It met with success in Rochester and Philadelphia, and is now at the Star theater, where it is nightly greeted by full houses.

The London Christian Commonwealth says: "One of Mr. Henry George's ablest supporters in America, Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, is about to visit England. Mr. Shearman is already well known 'on this side' through his articles and reported speeches in the New York STANDARD, and through his much quoted article in the Forum on American millionaires, 'Who Own the United States?' As he is himself a millionaire, he may be considered to speak with the authority which comes from personal knowledge of his subject. Mr. Shearman is an Englishman by birth, although he went to the states at a very early age. He is a splendid speaker, with a special genius for facts and figures; a cool, cautious lawyer, experienced in the management of large affairs, and accustomed to habits of close thought and exact statement. He has taken his place in the very front rank of the very able men who are in America advocating the single tax. Mr. Shearman expects to arrive in London on May 30. He will speak at the annual meeting of the English land restoration league on June 3, and has promised to address a series of meetings for the same league—probably in conjunction with Mr. George, who is expected in July—before he returns to the states."

The Kansas City Live Stock Indicator has opened its columns to the discussion of the economic problem, and Mr. Henry W. Allen avails himself of the opening thus made to inject some single tax into its columns. He has sent to that paper a copy of the address by S. H. Howes, a farmer of Massachusetts, which appeared in THE STANDARD a few weeks ago.

T. V. Powderly was last week indicted on the charge of conspiracy preferred by Edward Callaghan of Scottsdale, Pa. On Monday, the 19th, the case was tried at Greensburg and dismissed. This is the close of a case that has been widely advertised ever since the last election, when Callaghan, a candidate for office, was defeated at the polls, through, as he said, the influence of Powderly.

## THE NATURAL ORDER.

Port Huron, Mich., New Era.

Land, labor, wealth. That is the natural order. Whoever controls land controls labor and wealth. If one man owned all land, every other man would be simply a slave to this one. The farther we are removed from such a condition the better, we all say. Well, what better way, we pray, to remove this nation from such conditions than for the whole people to own the land and vouchsafe to every citizen the right to the use of a part of it?



## AN ENGLISH VIEW.

A LONDON PAPER ON GEORGE'S MISSION TO AUSTRALIA.

London Daily Chronicle.

The problem of the day is, beyond all cavil, the land question. It is not an Irish question; it is a world question, and it crops up in innumerable forms. In our vast Australasian colonies, where one might reasonably suppose land would be readily accessible to the humblest son of Adam, this irrepressible question evidently "burns" as fiercely as in the most densely populated countries of Europe. At the antipodes Henry George is doing a roaring trade on the platform, in the pulpit and the banquet hall, while the newspapers teem with "single tax" memorabilia. Before the "Prophet of San Francisco" was permitted officially to land, the reception committee took him round the harbor of Sydney in a steam launch in order to give him an object lesson in Australasian "uncultivated increment." Carlyle held that to "sell" the "Iliad" of Homer is an incongruity, but that "to attempt to sell the land of the world Creator for bits of metal is a ridiculous impossibility." However, "debating Thomas" was wrong. The reception committee were able to point out to Henry George an adjacent rocky prominence in much the same condition as when the morning stars sang together—a prominence providently gifted by the crown to an immigrant, whose successor in title priced it at one million five hundred thousand pounds to the urban community which could no longer dispense with its use. The individual we know *Celum non animum mutat*. It is the same with men collectively: they may change their skies, but they take their laws and customs with them; and if these are bad they do not cease to produce evil simply because they have been transported. What a different economic world we should have had to day if, say, the Pilgrim Fathers, when they set foot on Plymouth Rock, had broken altogether with European tradition and established, as they might have done, that system of communal land tenure toward which all civilized peoples are now, consciously or unconsciously, tending. But Buckle has told us—and told us most truly—that real history is not so much a record of events as of tendencies.

But to return to the Prophet of San Francisco. Though his popularity at the antipodes is great, it is evident that his mission is not without pitfalls. He is, above all things, a free trader; and it so happens that not a few of the most thorough-going land communalists in Australasia are protectionists. It is consequently affirmed—with what truth we know not—that the Californian prophet is being "run" in the main by the free trade, "no tariff" importers, for election rather than land communalising ends. Should this be so the fact is to be regretted. It is not as a politician, or even as a very profound economist, that Henry George deservedly takes high rank among the reformers of to-day. It is as the most powerful popularizer of an ancient, vital, but almost forgotten truth—viz., that "the earth He has given to the sons of men"—not to a few favored sons, but to all God's children as a common inheritance—that Henry George's name will go down to the remotest posterity as a benefactor of his species. A man with such a specific and important mission is shorn of half his influence for good when he turns into the bypaths of mere political partisanship. But to do the prophet justice it cannot be denied that "single tax on land values" savors much more of free trade than of land nationalization. Indeed it is, properly speaking, not land nationalization at all; it is merely a great fiscal reform from which many social benefits are expected to flow. It makes no attempt to organize labor on the land, or even so much as to levy taxation on the actual cultivators of the soil. It virtually retains the existing landholder on commission as tax collectors for the state. This does not approach in thoroughness the proposals of two eminent Scotsmen of the end of last century—Thomas Spence, schoolmaster, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and William Ogilvie, professor of philosophy, King's college, Aberdeen. The latter was one of the most learned men of his day, and himself a landlord, being "baron of Pitteveness" near Elgin. Nevertheless, his "Essay on the Right of Property in Land," published in London in 1793 and republished in 1838, treats the whole subject with unsurpassed lucidity and grasp. "When," says he, "any piece of land is sold the price paid by the new purchaser may be considered as consisting of three parts—(1) original value of the soil, (2) accessory or improved value of the soil, (3) contingent or improvable value of the soil." He then proceeds to estimate "original value" (prairie) in England at two parts, "improved value" eight parts, and "improvable value" five parts—fifteen in all; and then he boldly makes partition between the individual, the landlord and the community, thus: "Every land owner must be allowed to have full and absolute right to the original improved and contingent value of such portion of his estate as would fall to his share on the equal partition of the territory of the state among the citizens. Over all surplus extent of his estate he has a full right to the accessory value, whether he has been the original improver himself or has succeeded to or purchased from the heirs or assignees of such improver. But to the original and contingent values of

this surplus extent he has no full right; that must still reside in the community at large, and, though seemingly neglected or extinguished, may be claimed by the legislature or by the magistrate, who is the public trustee." Here we have Georgeism in a nutshell, only the analysis is keener than anything to be found between the boards of "Progress and Poverty." Ogilvie wrote with the cold logic of a philosopher of the Granite City. Not so Thomas Spence; he wrote as an enthusiast, and he very speedily became a martyr, much injured to Old Bailey prosecutions and prison cells, in consequence of a lecture delivered before the Philosophical society of Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1775. Ogilvie appealed to the students, and saw in Frederick the Great of Prussia a tyrant sufficiently enlightened to carry out his views. Spence, on the contrary, appealed to the democracy, then called the "mob," or as Burke would have it, the "swinish multitude." Spence's grim humor constantly got him into trouble. He was a thorough communalist, and here is the gist of his teaching: "Let all the parishioners unite, take Archdeacon Paley in the one hand and the bible in the other, assemble in an adjoining field, and, after having discussed the subject to their own satisfaction, enter into a convention and unanimously agree to a declaration of rights, in which it is declared that all the land, including coal pits, mines, rivers, etc., belonging to the parish of Bees, now in the possession of Lord Drone, shall, after Lady day, March 25, 18—, become public property, the joint stock and common farm, in which every parishioner shall enjoy an equal participation. The same declaration shall serve as a notice to Lord Drone to quit possession, and to give up all right and title to the land, etc., he has hitherto possessed to the people of the said parish of Bees on or before the above-mentioned day forever. And it may be further declared that on Midsummer day ensuing all the rents arising from the lands, mines, rivers, coal pits, etc., belonging to the said parish, instead of being paid as heretofore into the hands of Lord Drone or his steward, shall be paid into the hands of a parish committee or board of directors, who may be appointed for that purpose, after being duly elected by a respectable majority of the whole parish; and that after the national, provincial and parochial governments are provided for out of the rents thus collected, the remainder may be divided into equal shares among all the parishioners—men, women and children, including Lord Drone and Lady Drone, and all the little Drones belonging to their family, and the like division to be made on every succeeding quarter-day forever."

It will thus be seen that, whatever may be said for or against the land doctrines associated with the name of Henry George, the Prophet of San Francisco is anything but an innovator. More than a century ago both Spence and Ogilvie "saw the cat" quite as clearly as he. Ogilvie excelled him in subtle economic analysis, and Spence's concise and humorously sarcastic presentation of his ideas is a masterpiece in its way. Just as there were heroes before Agamemnon, so were there land "restorationists" before Henry George, and restorations, too, of a far more drastic type. But neither is that any disparagement of the Californian seer. Though in many respects a shaky economist, he has got firm hold of a great idea, and both as a writer and an orator he greatly excels his predecessors in eloquence and contagious sympathy. Above all, whatever may be said for or against his doctrines, he has come at the right time to stimulate thought among professors of the "dismal science." Political economy had become so dismal, so utterly divorced from ethical truth, that a re-examination of its fundamental principles had become necessary. And now the whole pseudo-science is in the crucible of keen and earnest investigation, and we owe it to Henry George in no small measure that it is so. He will soon be in our midst again, and will be welcomed to our shores—not so much as a distinguished American citizen as a representative of that Greater Britain which embraces the whole English speaking race.

## MELBOURNE'S WELCOME.

ADDRESS TO HENRY GEORGE BY THE LAND NATIONALIZATION SOCIETY OF VICTORIA.

Address of welcome presented to Henry George, author of "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," "Protection or Free Trade," etc., on the occasion of his visit to Victoria, March 25, 1890.

MELBOURNE, March 25, 1890.

Henry George, Esq.—Dear Sir: We, the undersigned, on behalf of the members of the Land nationalization society of Victoria, gladly embrace this opportunity of extending a hearty welcome to yourself and Mrs. George on your arrival in Victoria. Various motives actuate us. In the first instance, we welcome you as a distinguished worker for the welfare of mankind, distinguished alike by your ably written works and by your untiring efforts as a lecturer and debater.

We also welcome you as a thinker, as the new economist who has overthrown the old political economy and redeemed it from the imputation of "the dismal science" hitherto deservedly cast upon it.

Lastly, we greet you as an enthusiast imbued with the religion of humanity, as a

strong minded man warring against poverty and misery, ignorance and wrong. We revere you for your motives and recognize in you a co-worker with the power that is evolving good and eliminating evil.

The Land nationalization society has adopted the principle that the true way to honor a great man is not simply to appreciate him as a thinker or to warmly applaud him for his motives, but to carry on and extend his work. This is the truest compliment, this is the highest token of our appreciation that we can give to you.

The history of the settlement of these colonies offers an illustration of the evils resulting from the present system of land tenure, and this colony of Victoria has lately passed through one of those wild periods of speculation in land, the systematic recurrence of which you have so ably portrayed. We have in consequence been suffering from a period of depression, the lowest depths of which, it is feared, have not yet been reached.

Our society has not yet been a year in existence, and so cannot show the progress which has characterized the movement in the sister colony of New South Wales. Still a considerable amount of work has been done. For the past six months several of our members have been conducting a monthly journal called Progress, more than half of which is devoted to the diffusion of your views. We have, also, in addition to the ordinary weekly meetings of the society, been spreading our opinions by means of open air meetings in Studley park. Kindred associations have also been established for some time in Sandhurst and Echuca, and two months ago a member of our executive gave at Hobart, Tasmania, a lecture on land nationalization, which resulted in the formation of a society in that town.

In the future we mean to avail ourselves largely of the openings given by literary and other associations to extend our ideas. As it is, several addresses from our members have already been tabled on the syllabuses of societies.

Long ago the benefits derivable from some form of land nationalization were foreseen by a noble worker in this colony (Mr. Gresham), who in 1873 founded the Land tenure reform league, but his death in 1875 caused the league to collapse.

We find that your writings, notably "Progress and Poverty," have accomplished splendid work in enlightening the minds of earnest men and women of all classes. Our labor has thereby been rendered very much lighter and in many cases we have only required to gather into our association those whom your words had already convinced. We anticipate no less fruitful results from your present visit, and we trust that by it you may not only promote the great reform to which you have devoted so much time and thought, but that it may ever be a pleasant epoch in your life. We believe your visit to these colonies will greatly advance the cause you have at heart, by stimulating thought and inquiry and directing still greater attention to your works which we regard as the most effective factor in the promotion of land tenure reform.

In conclusion we wish to emphasize our conviction, which deepens with time and with renewed investigation, that the theory of society enunciated by you is the true solution of the economic problem; that your ideas, if adopted, will save society from the juggernaut of undeserved poverty on the one hand, and the premature bondage of socialism on the other. It does justice alike to society and to the individual; it develops the one without shackling the other. Recognizing this we count it a privilege to welcome you to this colony, and we shall endeavor to prove that our respect is genuine by zealously laboring to realize your noble political ideal—the single tax.

## GOD THE LANDLORD—MAN THE STEWARD.

Fred. Woodrow in St. Louis Age of Steel.

What there is of this round globe, from its crust to its center, in its bowels or on its skin, of gold or grass, oil or water, iron, wood and stone, belongs to man by virtue of a lease, and not by ownership. There is but one owner and but one landlord. This may seem to be somewhat old fashioned and antique, and not very helpful in this practical age, when a sheriff's writ strikes more terror than the Ten Commandments, and a letter of Powderly's has more gospel than the ancient parchments of Peter, Paul and the exile of Patmos.

This may be. Such a spirit exists. We have got away from the first cause and are on our marrow bones in the worship of sub-agencies. It is a question of mistaking a spindle for a fly wheel. The spindle has its place and purpose, but there is a giant wheel in the basement, without which a thousand spindles are as useless as a knitting needle in the hand of a dead woman.

The motor force that made this globe a fact still holds the little star in volition, regulates, governs and has jurisdiction over it and the human swarm on its surface. We believe this world was made for a purpose—that it was projected into space on an errand, and that the men and women cradled on its bosom and sepulchered in its dust are under a government of law, in the keeping of which is life and the forfeiture thereof is judgment, and it applies to the right use of a spindle of earth as to the moral use of intellect and conscience. We can be as morally damned as landlords as we can by stealing sheep or saucing sugar.

As before said, we are occupants of this globe, and not owners. Man is the steward. God is the landlord.

## EDIFYING READING FOR LABORERS.

WHICH SHOWS WHO GET THE BENEFIT OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.

A perusal of the real estate advertisements in our newspapers will edify the laborer as to who are exclusively benefited by "public" improvements. The laborer shoulders the entire expense of these improvements, under our misgovernment, down to the last penny. Let him harken to the truth as it is uttered by the real estate speculators:

These lots are located right in the line of Long island improvements, and within fifteen blocks of the terminus of the East river and Blackwell's island bridge, recently authorized by the legislature.

All city improvements and conveniences—Croton, gas, postal service, police and fire protection, graded avenues, quick transit, cheap fares, unsurpassed educational advantages, etc., all combine to render the choice lots here offered especially desirable for investment.

These lots are right in the line of Brooklyn's magnificent improvements.

Private enterprise also results in the enrichment of the land holder. Witness the following:

We give away \$—— worth of land as an inducement for people to build and locate, relying on future advances to realize profits.

The old story of the spider and the fly.

Healthy location, very high ground, excellent drainage, graded streets, city improvements and conveniences, quick transit, cheap fares, and active building in the vicinity, all unite to render this property unusually desirable for investment.

Portland, Ore., thriftiest city in the United States; real estate improvements giving large returns; lots are rapidly advancing in value.

Spokane Falls, the thriftiest and most progressive city in the west. Investments in real estate bring large returns.

Tacoma, the great money making center of the northwest; every foot of land will rapidly appreciate.

Here is a prospect for the laborer of the future which is not very encouraging:

These lots are as sure to go to a value of hundreds of dollars each within a few years as the sun is sure to shine to-morrow.

For capitalists—choice offer: cheap investment; block of 120 lots, and 200-acre tract in the finest suburb of Chicago.

The alluring profits set out in the following advertisements will be paid by the sweat of the laborer's brow:

Water, gas, electric light; macadamized road, schools, churches; five blocks from depot; the air is simply divine; ladies find this a desirable investment; money deposited in bank draws only three per cent interest; here is an opportunity to almost double the investment within a year.

I have exclusive control of some of the most desirable property in Duluth, and can offer investors property paying from eight to fifteen per cent on the investment, in addition to the rapidly increasing value in the realty.

Improved city property is the only paying investment where you not only get a sure return on your money, but the security always grows in value. All other values, even not speculative, have an uncertain future.

Here is a man who claims pay for nature's bounties:

Only forty pleasant minutes away. Nature did much, and we have done a quarter-million. Go down and see it.

The following is refreshingly frank:

This, with free land, free stone, and a location unsurpassed in this country, has been the rich man's opportunity.

All the above quotations are culled from a single issue of a metropolitan newspaper, three pages of which were filled with closely crowded advertisements of this nature. Curiously enough, in the same issue we find that laborers to the number of five hundred ask for employment. Their little notices are printed side by side with these alluring advertisements of land speculators. The contrast afforded is instructive, if we bear in mind the fact that, through their privilege of holding this globe as so much private property, the speculators at their own pleasure narrow the confines of the field in which labor employs itself, and force labor to go begging.

## THEY HAVE "TUMBLER," SO TO SPEAK.

Boston Globe.

The skilled mechanics of Germany, Great Britain and France have probed our pretension to protect the mechanic class through protecting manufactures and believe it to be a miserable sham. They, therefore, to a large and increasing extent, keep away from us. But the mouse trap vendors of Poland, the organ-grinders of Italy and the vermin ridden tramps of Hungary are with us.

## A PROBLEM IN WOOL.

National Democrat.

Spain is one of the most thoroughly protected countries in the world. It even protects domestic wool. Our minister in Madrid says: "One of the worst features of Spain's present economy is the lack of home production. Almost everything is imported. The consequences are that wages are low, and the cost of living high." Mr. Palmer adds that there is "no reason for this state of affairs, inasmuch as the country possesses most varied natural resources."



## THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

## A CONSERVATIVE PÆAN.

Lord Wolmer, M. P., is funny in his ponderous British way upon the subject of home rule, in the May issue of the Nineteenth Century. The title of Lord Wolmer's article is "The Good Time Coming," and what he means by this is the good time coming for conservatives, when not only Ireland, but Scotland, Wales and England, shall enjoy home rule. His lordship professes to believe that England will have home rule thrust upon her, not because she wishes or deserves it, but because the aspirations of Ireland, Wales and Scotland after home rule cannot be realized unless England also obtains that boom.

Lord Wolmer notes that offices under the imperial parliament, whether in England or in other parts of the British isles, are now filled in large part by Irishmen, Scotchmen and Welshmen, but he feels reasonably sure that under home rule each subdivision of the kingdom will fill its local offices with men of local birth or residence. It will be part of the good time coming that posts in England now held by Irishmen, Scotchmen and Welshmen shall be filled by Englishmen.

Best of all, however, thinks Lord Wolmer, home rule for England means a perpetual conservative majority in the English local parliament. He enforces this with figures designed to show that, putting aside the liberal parliament of 1832, the liberal party would have had a working majority in only three parliaments out of twelve from 1832 to 1885, had it not been for the votes of Scotch, Irish and Welsh members. He feels comfortably certain that radicalism would receive a permanent check were Irish, Welsh and Scotch members removed from the English parliament.

Having accomplished the main object of his design, Lord Wolmer closes his article with the playful suggestion that under home rule Sir William Harcourt will be needed to furnish fun for the Scotch parliament; Mr. Shaw Lefevre to give administrative ability to the over eloquent Irish parliament, while Sir George Trevelyan will, by reason of superior virtue, find his natural place in the Welsh parliament under the theocracy to be set up in the principality by Mr. Osborne Morgan and Mr. Gee.

## A DOCK LABORER'S PHILOSOPHY.

Tom Mann, president of the London dockers' union, talks of the "Development of the Labor Movement" in the May issue of the Nineteenth Century. He opens with a reference to the industrial war now raging the world over, and asserts that it is an irrepressible conflict destined to cease only with the solution of the problem that has set it agoing. He gives statistics showing the great number of strikes in the United States and the British isles, and affirms that all this trouble arises from the fact that the demand of laborers for the necessities of life is denied them while their power to produce these necessities is abundant. Men and women struggling to satisfy aspirations worthy of humanity know that it is not God, not nature, that stands between them and all necessary employment for the production of commodities. Englishmen who can make ten sets of furniture where their fathers made one, can weave 1,000 yards of carpet where their fathers wove one, are deprived of these things; and must take sticks for furniture and crumbs for bread.

Mr. Mann believes it is revolt and live or be content and die, and he believes that a people who can read of their ancestors' deeds in throwing off tyranny will not submit to present degrading conditions.

Mr. Mann affirms that labor combinations have been and are a necessity. He thinks it especially hopeful that they now include unskilled laborers. He hopes and expects that such combinations will be met by like action on the part of employers. When labor and capital are thoroughly organized the great struggle will come. He sees the necessity for combinations of employers, and he believes that they will end in the destruction of small employers and the formation of gigantic organizations of capitalists. The weariness of the public with labor troubles matters little, since the portion of the public that neither labors nor employs labor is insignificant. He notes the formation of an organization by employers in the ship building and engineering trades to fight at every point the organization of laborers in those trades, and the federation of the latter into one body. Such national federations of laborers and of capitalists will bring on struggles, compared with which past industrial battles will show as insignificant. The next step is boards of arbitration. These will not inspire confidence if arranged for by outside powers. The proposition of the chamber of commerce to provide for such

boards of arbitration does not inspire confidence, because of its cumbrousness, but the chamber can do good by urging organization upon employers. The dock laborers would rather deal directly with a committee of the employers than with any other body. The development of the labor problem takes this course: First, spasmodic difficulties between employers and unorganized employees; then organization on both sides, that of the laborers first; next, federation of sectional societies, then of all engaged in kindred industries. After this arbitration comes easy.

Until men are ready to help themselves by trades unions, other aid is vain. But after trades unions have been established parliament may be invoked. The trades unionist is also a citizen, and his duties as one do not absolve him from his duties as the other. It is the duty of trades unionists, as citizens, to rectify the wrongs of labor. Shorter hours are important, and parliament can certainly shorten the hours of state employees. Next it should shorten the hours of miners. When a demand has been made for shorter hours it is the duty of every true member of parliament to supplement the trades union effort. Railway workers number many thousands, and parliament could and should shorten their hours in accordance with the demand of the unions. If workmen can best bring these things about by voting rather than by striking—let them do it by the former method.

Shop assistants who work from 86 to 96 hours per week now have unions, and parliament should aid in shortening the hours of these workers, especially of the women.

Mr. Mann recognizes the danger threatening the labor party by reason of the attempt on the part of mere politicians within their ranks to gain their confidence and arrange matters so that the interests of labor shall be entrusted to the hands of these politicians. He hopes that "the sacred question of labor" may not become the subject over which contending political factions shall fight. If this danger is to be avoided there must be a large decentralization of power to county councils and local government boards, and laboring men must take an interest in such local legislative bodies. The imperial parliament should not be troubled with local questions. If the people learn to depend on local legislation this will bring health to local administrative bodies and "wean from the gaudy and superficial attractions of St. Stephen's the more sturdy and upright of the nation's real workers of all grades."

Mr. Mann hopes much of the county council, and looks forward to the time when such bodies shall help to develop the co-operative ideal, when the workers shall include the whole able-bodied community, and when peace and plenty shall abound as the result of harmonizing antagonistic tendencies of different sections of society.

## A CHAMPION OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Oliver T. Morton discusses "some popular objections to civil service reform" in the April and May issues of the Atlantic Monthly. Mr. Morton's method is somewhat striking and highly systematic. He quotes the objection, usually from a speech in congress or from a newspaper, replies in one or more paragraphs, and goes on to the next objection. His arguments would have more weight had he freed them from political rancor, but Mr. Morton has a historic hatred of the democratic party, and it crops out at every point. Nevertheless, he makes some strong replies. The general principle that "to the victor belong the spoils," which makes the president a dispenser of patronage, he says is in effect a revival of the old feudal idea that the king is the fountain head of all honors.

He admits, however, that something like the spoils system was a necessity during the civil war, when it was highly important that none but loyal men should hold office.

To the idea that the civil service commission is undemocratic, Mr. Morton's reply is that nothing can be more undemocratic than the persecution for opinion's sake involved in the spoils system.

To the assertion that civil service reform is English, he answers that the spoils system with the stamp of feudalism upon it was imported from England, where it had held sway in the modern form for one hundred and forty years. He shows, too, that civil service reform is vastly better adapted to the essentially democratic administrative system of England than to a monarchy where the monarch both governs and reigns. Indeed, the reform system was opposed in Great Britain as savoring of democracy. It is absurd to talk of a few thousand clerks as forming an aristocracy, and the chimera of bureaucracy is equally ridiculous. It cannot exist where the heads of administration are constantly changing and removal of the unit is expeditious and easy. A civil ser-

vice becomes dangerous to the people only when it seeks to perpetuate itself by interfering with elections. Mr. Morton sees no invasion of the citizen's rights in the effort to curb his pernicious political activity when he holds public office.

Mr. Morton does not pretend that a competitive examination is conclusive evidence of fitness for public place, but he recognizes its usefulness as one test, and it is at least better than the mere choice of men by political favoritism.

To the argument of rotation in office, Mr. Morton's reply is that this is in part the idea that public office is a prize at which everybody ought to have a chance. As a matter of fact rotation in federal offices has not been known, because the same party has often been for years in power, and the same men have during all those years held the bulk of offices. While on this topic Mr. Morton takes the opportunity to assail Mr. Cleveland's civil service record, and intimate that that was responsible for his defeat in 1888. Mr. Morton ridicules the idea of making post masters elective, and quotes John Stuart Mill's argument against the election of men to perform minor executive functions. Mr. Morton argues the necessity of repealing the tenure of office act, and declares that rotation in office "makes of administration a chaos, of politics a trade, and of principle an interest."

## BETTERMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The betterment tax in America is the subject of an essay by John Rae in the May issue of the Contemporary Review, and is evidently regarded by the editor as the star article of the number. Mr. Rae notes that the betterment tax has been known in New York since the latter part of the seventeenth century, but he does not think it of Dutch origin. He is rather inclined to believe that it arose spontaneously out of natural considerations of equity, and the seeds of it may have lain in the old method of making and maintaining streets in London, where every owner was required to make and repair the part in front of his own property "up to the channel running in the middle of the street." The germ was choked in England however, "probably because of the all-conquering tendency of legislation to favor real estate." In America, meanwhile, it has developed and been transplanted from state to state until there is scarce a city of the Union that does not benefit by the system.

Mr. Rae finds that the principle has been incorporated in the constitutions of several states, and that while its early application was at times resisted in other states, the justice of the betterment tax has been generally recognized. The courts have almost invariably ruled it equitable, and they have even gone so far as to uphold assessments for betterment on property especially exempt from taxation, on the ground that this is not a tax, but rather a compensation to the municipal corporation for benefits directly conferred upon property. Harvard college escaped assessments for betterment because the supreme court of Massachusetts held that while such assessment was neither a tax nor a rate, it might be regarded as a civil imposition, and Harvard is especially exempt by law from "all civil impositions, taxes and rates." Church property has again and again been made to pay for betterments, on the ground that he who feels the benefit ought to feel the burden. The court in Tennessee held that an assessment for paving was not a tax, but rather in the nature of payment to the city for the expense of removing a nuisance.

Mr. Rae cites many phases of the betterment law, and notes the custom in many states. He notes that there has long been a controversy as to the method of assessment for street improvements. In all, however, the principle that those especially benefited shall bear their share of the burden is recognized. In many instances the damages assessed against a railway company for its right of way have been adjudged as fully paid by the improvement to the residue of the person's property through which the road runs. In the case of street opening in New York a property owner not only received no compensation for the land taken, but was actually required to pay for the betterment of his adjacent property. This principle of the set-off, thinks Mr. Rae, would greatly have cheapened the building of railways in England, since an enormous item of cost lay in damages paid to real estate owners whose property was vastly benefited by the building of railways.

Mr. Rae believes that on the whole the betterment tax has worked equitably in the United States, and has seldom or never been an instrument of oppression. It facilitates improvements, as it is the least burdensome way of carrying on public works. The fact that it has spread through all the states he regards as conclusive evidence of its justice

and value. He cites the Boston improvement act of 1866 as an excellent example of the benefit of the principle, and some of the extravagant improvements in Washington as an example of its unfair application.

Finally Mr. Rae insists that the betterment tax has nothing to do in idea or effect with the proposal to intercept the unearned increment on real property. He thinks the duke of Argyll has confounded the two. He makes a brief argument in favor of the betterment tax, and declares, finally, that the duke's argument in favor of leaving the unearned increment untouched as an encouragement to enterprise, does not apply since in the case under consideration the spirit of enterprise and improvement is manifestly encouraged by the public appropriation of the increment.

## ONE WAY TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

R. Spence Watson, L.L.D., talks hopefully concerning the peaceable settlement of labor disputes in the May issue of the Contemporary Review. After briefly summarizing British legislation aimed at arbitration and conciliation, he proceeds to discuss voluntary efforts to these ends. He gives figures to prove that great progress has been made in the matter of voluntary arbitration, and describes at considerable length the joint board of conciliation and arbitration for the manufacturing iron trade in the north of England. This board is constituted and managed much as one would expect to find it. Masters and men have equal representation at the deliberations of the board and they equally share the expense attending its deliberations. There is ample provision for the settlement of mere local disputes without an appeal to the board, and for the reference to a referee, who acts as a court of questions that the members of the board fail to agree upon. Testimony is submitted and the case of each side is put into print. According to Dr. Watson the system has worked admirably in this instance. Mutual respect and forbearance have been the outcome of the joint deliberations of masters and men. A judicial endeavor to do the fair thing rather than to contend for victory has been characteristic of both sides.

The board has worked thus for twenty years, and others have done likewise. Dr. Watson admits, however, that boards of conciliation have been less successful. In some trades there has been provision for a sort of temporary joint board which adopts a kind of conciliation policy, and some think this better than the permanent joint board because, as the temporary board provides no referee, a strike must follow a disagreement, and with this alternative in view both sides are extremely anxious to come to terms. Dr. Watson, however, prefers the permanent joint board, chiefly because of its permanency, which admits of frequent contact between master and man.

If arbitration has worked so well in some instances why has it not become general? Dr. Watson assigns several reasons—caste spirit; the remnant of the old idea that the master is doing a favor when he gives work in exchange for labor; the persistence of the idea that those who get money for doing nothing are *ipso facto* superior to those who earn it by labor; the unwillingness of employers to admit "outsiders" to their councils; the fear of employers that the secrets of their business may leak out through the arbitrators. Dr. Watson thinks the last named reason particularly illogical, since the history of arbitration gives no instance in which an employer has suffered through the revelation of business secrets.

Dr. Watson thinks that the best way to promote the peaceful solution of the labor problem is to promote joint boards of conciliation and arbitration in all branches of trade.

## LET JUSTICE BE DONE.

Charles Mackay in London Christian Commonwealth.  
There is plenty in the land,  
If its lords would understand  
Their duty to the people in the glens where  
they were born.  
There's barley for the "bree,"  
There are herrings in the sea;  
There are peats upon the moor, there is grass  
for hool and horn.  
There are kail yards for the kail,  
There's ank to fill the pail,  
And farms and crofts and pastures in the  
shadows of the ben;  
And as sure as dark grows bright,  
When the morning follows night,  
The clans shall enjoy their own again!  
In the happy days of old,  
Ere the cruel greed of gold  
Drove justice from the hearts of the traders  
in the soil,  
There was earth to dig and plow,  
There was forage for the cow,  
And meal, and mair, and raiment for the  
sons of honest toil  
And it's coming yet ere long  
When the right shall ding the wrong,  
And our rulers learn that cattle are of less  
account than men.  
And the struggle shall be won,  
And justice shall be done,  
And the clans shall enjoy their own again!



## CHARITY FROM A KNIGHT OF LABOR STANDPOINT.

ADDRESS BY A BALTIMORE ASSEMBLY TO THE CONVENTION OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS.

At the meeting of the National conference on charities and corrections, held in Baltimore on Friday, May 16, an address was presented by district assembly No. 41, Knights of Labor, which contained an appeal for justice rather than charity, and suggested the true solution of the great problem with which the national conference attempts to wrestle. The paper was listened to with intense interest by the assembled delegates, many of whom expressed surprise at the disclaimer on the part of workmen of any desire for charity. It was as follows:

When we see conventions like this, with delegates from so many sections of the country; when papers are prepared by some of the ablest minds and discussed before such bodies; when large sums of money and much time are given—all with the intention of alleviating the miserable condition of our fellow men—we may safely assume that some of our fellow men are in a deplorable condition.

It is understood that you have met "to consider the best methods of administering charity, of preventing pauperism, of reforming criminals and abolishing crime."

It is an established fact that the want of common food, clothing and shelter, and the fear of such want, cast a gloomy shadow over the homes of three-fourths of the people. It is this fear of want that has lowered the standard of morality in business—men lie, cheat and steal, and, if successful, are honored as shrewd, far-seeing business men.

In this century production has been wonderfully increased by improvements in machinery, yet the workingman is painfully conscious that he gets no share in the increase; he works ten of the twenty-four hours, and often more than that. Labor is imperfectly organized. The wealthy take little interest in the poor. The bakers of New York city recently sent five hundred circulars to the clergymen of that city, appealing for their assistance "to relieve the bakers of Sunday work," and received answers from "half a dozen." A crystallized selfishness seems to pervade the compact, if not organized "classes," as against the segregated and unorganized, and perhaps quite as selfish "masses." The "middle class" is gradually disappearing, and the tendency is toward a plutocracy on the one hand and a proletariat on the other.

While the Knights of Labor recognize the necessity for and commend the efforts of the charity organizations in attempting to alleviate the sufferings of the deserving poor, yet we have always thought it strange that you—men and women of intelligence, with broad minds and open hearts—had never asked yourselves "if there is not something radically wrong in that system which compels men, willing to work, to stand idle and poverty stricken in the midst of plenty."

In the preamble of the Knights of Labor is this declaration:

"The alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of great capitalists and corporations under the present industrial system will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that unjust accumulation and the power for evil of aggregated wealth shall be prevented. This much desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' Therefore, we have formed the order of the Knights of Labor, for the purpose of organizing, educating and directing the power of the industrial masses."

It is from this standpoint that the Knights of Labor must discuss the work of charity organizations.

Let me quote:

"Poverty will exist as long as the world lasts, but pauperism can be and ought to be eradicated. \* \* \* What is more sacred to a man than the purity of his boy or the virtue of his girl; and yet, the pauper will see that boy and girl crowded together in the same room and in the same bed, like the beasts that perish, until no sense of shame even remains, when that purity and that virtue need only a slight exertion on his part for their preservation. \* \* \* What is more dear to a man than his independence and self-respect, and yet, you can meet the pauper daily at the corner of the street, begging that you will tear the badge of freedom from his brow, and brand upon it the stigma of the pauper. With the feeling of independence and self-respect gone, there is no power of self-regeneration in the pauper, and it is only by the helping hand of true charity that the regeneration can be commenced and the man brought back to a sense of independence and self-respect. This, my friends, is the proposed work of the Charity organization society. It is the gospel of humanity that we are trying to preach, and the parable of the Good Samaritan that we are trying to put in practice. \* \* \* It is simply the Master's work, and it means the helping care of those who are now hardly entitled to the crumbs and their elevation to a seat and to

a part in the children's portion at their Father's table."

These quotations are from an address by Mr. John Glenn at the meeting of the conference on charities held at Baltimore, April 15 and 16, 1887. We are aware that they only express the opinion of one of your members, but they so well represent the position of members of charitable organizations generally that we could not refrain from repeating them.

We agree with you that for the man unable to find employment there is no immediate remedy but that assistance and relief which will prevent him from falling lower in the scale of humanity. We disagree with you in this: You seem to assume that as poverty exists, God, the all-wise Creator, has decreed that it shall always exist. In the remarks just quoted we see that "poverty will exist as long as the world lasts," and the text, "The poor ye have always with you," has been often used to excuse and sustain the existing condition of things.

Is the gentleman whose remarks we have quoted aware that there are thousands of men, who work hard when they can secure employment, compelled to live in one or two rooms with their families, herded together like cattle; that children are born, live and die in these narrow homes, where there can be no privacy, and where only by the most earnest efforts can children be saved from moral death. Remember, ladies and gentlemen, we are not speaking of paupers, but hard workingmen and their families. Let us quote from Father Huntington, an Episcopal minister, who has lived with these people, and who is qualified to speak with authority:

"And who are the people that crowd these tenements? Perhaps it will be thought that the very badness of the condition of such places shows that these people are all 'filthy and debased creatures,' and that therefore very little can be done for them." Men will be inclined to dismiss the whole matter with a shrug of the shoulders and an impatient sigh. It is all very dreadful no doubt, but there will always be base, corrupt people; they naturally herd together; they create their own misery; if you root them out of one locality they will simply transfer themselves and their brutality and vice to some other. No doubt there are such people in tenement houses, but that they represent the body of the tenement house population I entirely deny. Side by side with these poor outcasts of humanity are hard working men and women, who are leading lives of heroic purity and nobility. They are fighting at fearful odds to keep themselves and their children from the filth and pollution all about them."

This, of course, was written about New York, but our own fair city, as well as all large cities, are threatened with the same conditions.

In all the charitable literature it is assumed that poverty is the natural lot of the masses; the members of charity organizations, and even ministers of the gospel, take it for granted that this is the condition which the Creator intended for many of his children. It is to this assumption that we take exception, and while we endeavor to assist our brothers in distress, we insist that the masses must be educated in order to abolish the necessity for charity, as now understood.

With the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as a religious foundation, we insist that it is justice that is wanted—not charity. From this standpoint we have formulated a platform demanding certain legislation. The two planks which have become burning questions are the fourth and eighteenth.

The eighteenth is: "That the government shall obtain possession, by purchase, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones and railroads; and that thereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers or freight."

It is almost universally conceded that there can be no real competition in a natural monopoly for any length of time; to secure equality to all, these natural monopolies must be under the control of the government, and we believe it is a question of a very short time when this demand will be granted.

The fourth plank is: "That the land, including all natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. Taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all the unearned increment."

The Knights of Labor claim that the enactment into law of these two demands would remove the cause for charity. What the fourth plank, if put into practical effect, would do, is this: No land has any value unless two men want it; when 500,000 people settle in a city like Baltimore the value given by the 500,000 is unearned by the individuals who claim to own the land of Baltimore; we propose to take for the community the value conferred by the community. This would make the man who is holding land out of use or putting it to inferior use abandon it to some one who would use it and pay the taxes. This would have the effect of opening opportunities to thousands of men now unable to find remunerative employment. Wages would rise,

for no man would work for another for less than he could make by working for himself or by co-operating with his fellows. The man that occupied the best lot in Baltimore would pay the highest price to the city, to be used for the good of all. The rich idler's power would be gone. The monopoly of land, the mother of all other monopolies, destroyed, man would once more stand erect. Involuntary poverty would be banished from the face of the earth; there would be no paupers. When you can tell a pauper, "Go to work, you have an equal opportunity with all others," there will be no excuse for pauperism. For the blind, the deformed, the afflicted, asylums could be provided, not as an act of charity by some philanthropic ladies and gentlemen, but as an act of justice, by the people. Let us, in conclusion, urge the members of this organization to continue to alleviate distress, but to look for something better than charity—justice. A well known writer has said that "behind every social problem there is a social wrong," and we hope the charitable ladies and gentlemen will bend their energies to righting the wrongs that are the cause of all the ills that afflict humanity, and not stop with palliating wrongs by relieving the distress of those who seek work, and find it not; who would be men in every sense of the word if they had but the opportunity.

### SOCIETY NOTES.

Seldom has New York been socially so dull during April and early in May as has been the case the present year. There seems to be no social activity whatever. A few luncheons and dinners have been given during the week, and a few more are announced for the immediate future, but there is not enough to create even a ripple in swiftdom. The fact of the matter is that nearly all the people who are in the habit of giving large entertainments have gone to Europe, and the minor people are not, therefore, prompted into the desperate competition which is characteristic of the full season. It would be rather interesting to make a list of the fashionable people now staying abroad and who will probably not return here until the beginning of the season at Newport, Lenox and other watering places. And this, long as it stands now, is constantly receiving additions. Sir Roderick Cameron and his family sailed on Wednesday and Robert Hargous, who enjoys whatever distinction may reside in the fact that he is the brother of Sallie Hargous, departed the same day. Mrs. William C. Whitney, among others, announces her intention of taking a trip to England. When she returns she also will go to Newport, having taken for the season the cottage occupied by the late Isaac Bell, jr.—[New York World.]

The dark shadow of want and suffering is apparently extending throughout the mining valleys of Pennsylvania, and its baleful influence is felt in hundreds of homes. B. G. Morgan of Hyde Park, a prominent member of the relief committee, says that the destitution is beyond description. He tells of a man who went to a storekeeper and begged to be trusted for a sack of flour. The storekeeper said he could not afford to give any more "trust." When the man was going away he seized and carried off one of the sacks of flour which he found outside the door. The storekeeper was informed of the occurrence a few minutes later and hastened to the man's home. There he saw a sight which touched him to the heart. The sack of flour lay open on the floor, and the poor man's children were sitting around it helping themselves to its contents with spoons. Stories of distress all along the mining hamlets of the region are numerous and well authenticated, and the worst feature is that there does not seem to be a silver lining to the cloud which hangs over the coal trade. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western company, the Delaware and Hudson canal company and the Pennsylvania coal company, whose men are starving in the very shadows of the silent coal breakers, should come to the rescue at once and do something substantial. These coal companies, as well as others, he says, are responsible for the overcrowding of this region with labor and the glutting of the market with anthracite. They cannot escape their moral responsibility in this trying time, even if they cannot be legally held for the misery they have helped to cause. A month's pay would be but a small portion of the wealth the coal kings have derived from these valleys, "where wealth accumulates and men decay," and even if corporations have no souls the men who manage them should not be soulless. It is the solemn duty of the coal companies to relieve the necessities of their starving workmen, and they should do it without delay.—[Springfield, Mass., Republican.]

There are fortunes in laces in New York city. Those belonging to the several Vanderbilts must be worth nearly \$500,000 and rival the Prussian and Austrian crown laces. The Astor family has rich lace treasures, which connoisseurs value at not less than \$300,000. The late Mrs. Astor left from \$40,000 to \$50,000 worth to the Metropolitan art museum. The late Mrs. A. T. Stewart spent \$500 per pair for the curtains at the big, gloomy mansion's windows. Her personal and dress laces were worth \$250,000. Mrs. R. L. Stuart has a collection equally valuable. The Belmont laces are almost priceless. Mrs. Bradley Martin and Mrs. Marshall Rob-

erts have exquisitely fine, choice and rare laces. Vice-President Morton's wife and Mrs. W. C. Whitney have laces worth from \$50,000 to \$70,000. New York buys more laces than any other city in the world. It has at least a score of wealthy women whose laces exceed \$50,000 in value and probably a hundred whose collections would sell for \$20,000. The lace cloaks that have lately come in fashion figure in the wardrobes of affluent matrons to the tune of \$1,000 and \$12,000. Lace shawls, long since laid by, are brought out for dress draperies and scarfs in the lace revival, and one dressmaker claims to have had a glimpse of two worth not less than \$6,000. The late Mrs. John Jacob Astor had a famous lace robe that cost \$18,000 in Paris, but this is quite outdone by a dress lately heard of which was bought abroad for \$25,000.—[San Francisco Argonaut.]

The face of the newspaper girl is becoming a familiar sight in newspaperdom in Boston. While it has in past been customary for little girls to call out the names of the dailies, like their brother vendors, it seems that the number of newsgirls is increasing. Away on into the night she may be seen, tired, hungry and ragged, and the plaintive tone of her voice as she calls out her stock is certainly pathetic.

Last night a reporter stood on the pavings in front of the big depot. He was deep in meditation, when, suddenly, right beside him, he heard the faint tones of a little girl appealing to him to "please buy a paper." She had but a few left, and the utter poverty of the little business woman, with her thin, pinched face, touched him to buying out her whole stock. A little questioning on the scribe's part elicited the following touching story:

"My mother, she died two years back. My father is a laborer, but he drinks an awful lot, so me and Jim sells papers to help the house. Father licks us if we don't sell all we have, and sometimes it takes me to 11 o'clock before I get rid of mine."

The reporter looked at the big clock on the depot's tower. It registered just 10.40. Then he looked again at the little being beside him.

Her boots were so worn and broken that they could scarcely afford any shelter for her feet. Her dress had evidently been made for a bigger body, while an old-time stained something did service for a hat.

The clothes were thin, and their wearer stood shivering while the reporter was compelled to draw his heavy coat closer to keep out the chilling air.—[Boston Globe.]

The new pocket handkerchiefs for day use are in pale pink, bluish gray, and lilac cambric, with a powdering of little flowers in white flax thread, looking like silk, and double lines in white near the hemstitched edge. A little more dressy ones are of the finest white cambric, with the most captivating little flowers in various colors strewn on them in an all-over design.—[New York Sun.]

### ALL IRISHMEN SHOULD READ THIS.

Harrisburg Patriot.

Every man who is at all familiar with English politics knows that the three men most eminent in Great Britain as champions of Ireland's cause, Gladstone, Farnell and Davitt, are pronounced free traders, and that, on the other hand, the most malignant, bigoted and tyrannical oppressors of the Irish in Ireland are the landed gentry of tory and tariff proclivities. \* \* \*

As to the Irish leaving Ireland on account of English oppression, the greatest number left during the years of high tariff in England, just as the Germans, the Hungarians and the Poles are now leaving their highly tariffed countries. The free trader Cobden had no better advocate of his cause than the Irish free trader O'Connell; and the men who oppose both were the same men who robbed the Irish Catholics, the Irish Presbyterians, the Irish Methodists, and all other Irish non-conformists for the support of a church none of them respected. It was the tariff looters of England who kept the Irish Catholics disfranchised; that forbade them being educated, and that sent Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Cornwallis to America to punish the colonists for throwing the tariff-taxed tea into Boston harbor. Such free trade Irish as Generals Sullivan, Stark, Wayne and others were on hand to meet them, did meet them and drove them back home to a country which, at the time and for half a century afterward, was robbed and plundered by a tariff tax to support an idle aristocracy, just as the republican tariff supports a body of plutocrats busy in nothing but amassing money and causing mischief. \* \* \*

Occasionally Irishmen go back on their principles for offices, just as a few Irish in Ireland will join the "peelers," and for a mess of English pottage tear down cabins, spy and inform and do many other acts fitting in none so well as in a renegade. Of such it may be said, "good riddance to bad rubbish." Their leave taking is better than their company. Quav may have all such wherever he finds them.

### THE REMEDY FOR OVERCROWDING.

Rev. Heber Newton on Municipal Politics.

The true solution of the overcrowding problem is to be found in rapid transit. The people must be given facilities for reaching new and healthier dwellings. But the brown stone dwellings which are springing up here and there in Westchester county are of no use to our working population. My own impression of what is required (said Dr. Newton) is that we should begin to tax all unused land in the suburb until it is thrown into the market and made available for workmen's dwellings.



## THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

## THE TARIFF DEBATE.

The event of the week in congress was the attack on the McKinley bill by Mr. Butterworth of Ohio. It is expected that the bill will pass the house to-day, and be sent to the senate.

## SOME PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

THE WORKINGMEN OF HIS OWN DISTRICT ASKING INFORMATION FROM MR. MCKINLEY.

Before this issue of THE STANDARD reaches its readers Mr. McKinley will have in his possession a letter, which he is requested to answer in his speech closing the tariff debate. The letter has been signed by many workingmen of his own district, and it seems hardly probable that the author of the bill to prohibit importations will dare ignore it, while any attempt on his part to show why it is that a tariff causes high wages in the United States while it fails to prevent low wages in other countries will make interesting reading. The letter is as follows:

Hon. Wm. McKinley, Jr., Washington, D. C.—Dear Sir: The undersigned voters and workingmen in the district in which you are the representative in congress, where your distinguished abilities are employed in making laws for the well being of ourselves and others, recognizing your eminence as a political economist, respectfully ask you to reply to the following questions, feeling confident that, as the subject is one which concerns us materially, you will do so readily:

1. You have said, substantially, that under the influence of protection the wages of the working classes are higher in this country than in any other in the world; in other words, that high wages are due to high tariffs, and that the latter are necessary to maintain them. We find that Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Spain, Persia, Portugal, Belgium, Cuba, Russia, Norway, Sweden, Serbia, Siam, Turkey, Japan, China and nearly all other foreign countries have high tariffs, some of them even higher than ours, the island of San Domingo, for example, having a tariff that averages sixty-five per cent. If, as asserted, high tariff makes high wages, will you kindly explain why it is that those countries have such notoriously low wages?

2. Is it true, as declared by Mr. Blaine, that "the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter, and the longer hours of labor?"

3. In your report on your new tariff bill you give as a reason for taking the duty off of sugar and permitting us to pay a bounty to the growers instead, that not enough of the article is produced in this country, and (to quote your words) "duty is therefore a tax which is added to the price not only of the imported, but the domestic product." Permit us to ask, why, if this reason is good in the case of sugar, it will not likewise hold good as regards other articles, enough of which are not produced in this country?

Moreover, if removing the duty on sugar will benefit us, will not (for the same reason) striking the duty off of wool, etc., and granting a bounty to growers be still more to our advantage, since clothing for ourselves and families is an item of greater importance to us than sugar?

Will you, honorable sir, do us the favor to make reply to the above, in your closing address in the debate now in progress, in order that not only ourselves but others may be enlightened on these points?

## LABOR AND THE TARIFF.

Mr. Louis F. Post was the lecturer before the tariff reform class at Cooper union last Friday evening, and his subject was as appears above. Labor and the tariff, he said, is a subdivision of the subject, "The farmer and the tariff," for agricultural wages are the basis of all wages. Whatever will make wages high should be welcomed; and when it appears that protection increases the wages of a country generally and permanently, let us welcome protection. But it is impossible that it should. If wages rose here, the labor of the world would come here and compete for work till wages fell. It is only the owners of the American land, out of which the raw material of protected articles comes, that can profit by protection.

For example: It is proposed by the McKinley bill to protect tin plate with a higher duty. If this were done tin plate would be dearer, the trades that use tin plate would be interfered with, the trades engaged in producing exports to pay for imported tin plate would decline; but wages for making tin plate would not long be higher than in other employments, for competition in the labor market would bring them down, while American tin mines, now worth nothing except for speculation purposes, would become very valuable.

Walter H. Paige will be the lecturer this Friday evening, 23d inst.

## CONFINED TO OUR HOME MARKET.

The Chicago Herald points out that "American manufacture is at the disadvantage of being confined almost entirely to the home market. We have never exported a million dollars' worth of woollens in any year, while Great Britain, by the latest returns at hand, exports \$112,000,000; France, \$67,000,000, and Germany, \$46,000,000. Our next neighbor, Canada, imported from us (1886) only \$108,000 worth of woollen goods, while she brought from Great Britain \$3,750,000 worth. But our own consumption, as the census figures show, is immense, about five-sixths being of home, and one-sixth of foreign manufacture. Of the home manufacture from a quarter to a

third of foreign wool is required, so that the American sheep furnish little more than half of Uncle Sam's woollen wear.

"By placing a high tax on the importations of wools our government puts into the hands of foreign buyers a practical monopoly of the largest portion of the wools of the world. In qualities best adapted for clothing purposes this monopoly amounts to nine-tenths of the world's supply. Even on the small quantity of such wools that can be brought into this country without a positive loss to the importer, the foreign manufacturer has an advantage of above fifty per cent. In other articles that we must use, which are taxed by our tariff, usually with the mistaken idea that it is 'protection' to some home industry, the foreign manufacturer has a still further advantage."

## THE TARIFF DID IT.

The Tiffin woolen mills, among the largest factories of the kind in northern Ohio, have closed down indefinitely. In an interview Superintendent Waugh unhesitatingly asserts that the sole cause of the suspension is the prevailing tariff, under which manufacturers are compelled to pay a heavy duty upon a class of foreign wool which is necessary in the manufacture of high-grade wools, and which is not and cannot be produced in this country. "I have been a life-long republican," said Mr. Waugh, "but I tell you thousands of woolen mill operatives in this country, myself among the number, are having their eyes opened to this tariff question."

## PROTECTING OUR DOG INFANT INDUSTRY.

Forest and Stream.

I had a rather amusing experience and one which it may benefit some brother to know. I bought a setter dog from Messrs. Davey and Richards, of London, Ont., and I trust the wicked advertising department of this paper will not prevent my saying it was an almighty good dog, with a pedigree that runs right back to William the Conqueror. I expect it was about the best dog ever was and worth at least \$1,000 of anybody's money. At least that is what I told an innocent looking party who was in the baggage car as we neared the Canada line and who asked me what it was worth.

"That is a good deal of money for a dog," said the innocent looking party. "He must be a corker."

"Corker?" said I. "Say, now you have hit it. That dog is probably the most perfect specimen of symmetrical canine excellence that you ever saw. You want to look at him before I take him away, because you don't often get a chance like this. Look at those legs. Get on to that tail. Observe the faultless set of his ears. Make a note of his shoulders. Examine his superb loin. Congratulate yourself on having been permitted to touch a coat of such quality and to stroke a muzzle that will henceforward be adopted as the bench show standard. Say, that dog's a daisy, and don't you forget it!"

"No, I won't," said the innocent man. Then he figured a little bit and said:

"Cost you \$200.70 to get 'im over the line."

"What?"

"Two hundred dollars, 20 per cent ad valorem, seventy cents entry fee. Come now, be lively, yeknow."

He was a customs officer, and when I knew it I broke out in a cold sweat. I think my smile must have been something ghastly. "As I was saying," I continued, taking hold of the dog's tail, "this tail would be simply perfect if it wasn't about fourteen inches too long. If there's anything I do hate about a dog it is a snippy, pinched up muzzle, and a weak back, and no body and wabby legs. Beats the world how a fellow gets stuck on a dog sometimes, don't it?"

"What'd you pay for 'im?" asked the innocent party, severely.

"Nothing. I stole him. He was given to me. I paid a dollar and a quarter for him. Say, do you want to buy him at six bits?"

Then we had more talk, and the end of it was that before I got my puppy over the water I had to leave \$5.70 in a place where it will never do me the least bit of good in the world. All because I was human enough to praise my own dog.

## MISS NANCY TARIFF.

Read at a meeting of the Young Men's Democratic Club of Brooklyn, April 28, 1890.

Far back in Jeffersonian days, And Hamiltonian nights, America, whose winning ways Had set the Red Coats all ablaze,

With powder's brilliant light, Concluded, noble hearted maid, That endless flirting hardly paid.

Why should she longer waste her charms On titled fools with coats of arms? No, no! she'd wed a noble youth,

Whose title was undaunted truth; Whose wealth was sinewy arm and hand, With broad estates of virgin land,

And o'er whose face the sun had spread The healthful tints of brown and red.

Of course the youth she had in view Was our dear Uncle Sam,

Who knowing she was good and true And spotless as a drop of dew,

And loving as a lamb, Just up and told her so one day, And asked her what she had to say.

You know the rest; the day was fair, And bright their honeymoon;

And though good currency was rare, They built their castles high in air,

Nor cared for other boon. And so time rolled itself away,

Till lo, one balmy April day, The gossip's gravelly stroked their chins

And said, "They say it's really twiss."

Aye, twiss they were; and all will own, They took the world by storm.

Before his name was fairly known, Young Agriculture walked alone;

And Commerce, in due form, Bestrode a plank, as youngsters will,

And swam across the neighboring rill. While Uncle Sam, with honest pride,

Yelled: "Go it, boys, I'm on your side," Then laughed and laughed until he cried.

But oh, their nurse! She tore her hair And stamped her foot with rage.

What should she do with such a pair? They'd surely drive her to despair,

Despite their tender age; Such infants could not be endured,

She'd kill them, or she'd have them cured. Miss Nancy Tariff was the nurse,

A wizened featured thing, Whose blessing always proved a curse

And whether witch or something worse, 'Tis said a serpent's sting

Was folded close beneath her tongue, With which she poisoned old and young.

At least the fact was very clear, That infants whom she tried to rear

Grew large and fat, yet none were known To have the strength to stand alone.

Now Uncle Sam, though far above All weakness as a rule,

Was blinded by parental love And Tariff's golden medal of

The Hamiltonian school, Which boldly certified that she

Could train an infant industry To shun the colic's painful throes,

And all the other infant woes. So Uncle Sam, good, generous heart!

Said: "Tariff, give my boys a start." Consider, then, Miss Tariff's plight,

When such precocious twiss Go bounding off before her sight

And put her theories all to flight Before her work begins.

"They must be caged, or walled about Securely, so they can't get out."

And so, as meek as any lamb, She thus addressed good Uncle Sam:

"While at the Hamiltonian school I learned it was a general rule

That goods that come across the seas Are all infected with disease.

Now, if you wish these youths to feed On wholesome food to suit their need,

You'd better build around your home A wall so high that none can come;

And thus keep out the pestilence." So Uncle Sam, at great expense,

Worked night and day, year in, year out, And walled his broad estates about;

While Tariff smiled to think, forsooth, How such a wall would cage the youth;

For what would keep the others out? Would keep them in, beyond a doubt.

But still Miss Tariff's heart was sad, These lads would not be nursed;

And others came, but just as bad, And just as prone to make her mad

As those that came at first. And such their strength that, spite of all,

She found them jumping o'er her wall. 'Twas growing desperate; she'd die

Or build that wall up to the sky. And more than that, she'd change their mood

By cutting down their share of food; Starvation might accomplish much

Where other means might fail to touch. So, once more putting on the lamb,

She meekly said to Uncle Sam: "You see the boys can climb your wall;

Why trifle more? It is too small. Young Commerce every day brings in

His pockets full of foreign sin; So if you would be truly wise,

This wall should tower toward the skies. Then, sir, another general rule

That marks the Hamiltonian school Is this: 'Tis numbers and not strength

That wins industrial fame at length.' Your children, sir, are doubtless strong

But much too few. You need a throng Of infant industries to-day,

If you would win the future fray. But nature's methods are too slow

For him who would outwit the foe, And though your flock should reach a score,

You'd prosper best with many more. Adoption is your plan, good sir;

Adopt a dozen every year." "But we must feed them, don't you see?"

Said Uncle Sam, inquiringly. "I'll manage that," Miss Tariff said,

And smiling turned away her head. Ere Uncle Sam could nod assent,

The news was spread abroad; And up from every quarter went

The joyful music of content; All weaklings should be cured,

If they would come as willing thralls Within Miss Nancy Tariff's walls.

They came, of course, by twos, by threes, All labeled "Infant Industries;"

Although by far the greater part Had asthma, fits, or falling heart,

And far from earning daily bread, They needed props to hold their head.

"But what of that," Miss Tariff said, "'Tis but malaria, that disease

That imports bring from o'er the seas. And all they need is home made food

To drive the poison from their blood. So Agriculture, darling boy,

You'll share your food, I know, with joy; And Labor, bless your honest heart,

I know you'll not the generous part; But you, young Commerce, greedy elf,

It seems you think of naught but self;

So, sir, I'll make your conscience burn By taking half of all you earn;

And if you kick, I'll promise you To starve you out before I'm through.

And so Miss Tariff played her game Of robbing one and all;

And boasting loud in virtue's name, She set blind patriots' hearts a flame

With building up her wall; But though the public pulse beat fast,

'Twas fevered, and grew weak at last, And now and then, 'mongst other ills,

Fell panic stricken into chills. Young Commerce soon grew thin and pale

And hadn't strength to set a sail; And Labor starved from day to day,

Grew weak and fainted by the way; While Agriculture, none knew why,

Found growing 'mongst his wheat and rye A very curious kind of weeds

Which bore the name of mortgage deeds. But then the infants, how they grew;

Their weight soon multiplied by two; Yet, strange to say, they could not stand

Unless Miss Tariff held their hand; So critics said 'twas plain from that

The infants' food all turned to fat. But Tariff archly said: "We must

Have some advice from Dr. Trust." So Dr. Trust was summoned in

And felt their pulses all, And said: "Their blood is much too thin,"

Then winked at Tariff, with a grin, And praised her lofty wall;

Then said: "I'll watch their sleep to-night To see if everything goes right."

When night had reached the witching hour, America awoke;

And led by some mysterious power, She visited the spacious bower

Where slept her little folk. And lo, what did her eyes behold!

A sight to make her blood run cold! Young Agriculture pale as death

And Labor gasping for his breath! And all the rest in equal plight

Of those who were her heart's delight! And resting on the arm of each

An indirect taxation leech! While other leeches, gorged with blood,

Were being fed as dainty food To those who bore, in faint disguise,

The name of "Infant Industries." As swift as light she rushed across

The bower, and with relentless force Set both her hands on Tariff's throat,

Who, writhing, fell with piercing note; While Dr. Trust, without a word,

Drew from his side a glittering sword; Then said: "Madame, this good blade

Has made e'en monarchies afraid; It bears the dreaded name, you see,

Of merciless Monopoly; So, by the Devil and his host,

Let go your grip, or you are lost." Then swaying back with cunning art

He thrust his weapon at her heart. But clash, the blow was parried wide,

For Uncle Sam stood by her side, And with his good sword "Common Sense,"

Had interposed his strong defense; And with a quick returning blow,

He laid the coward mercenary low. Then Tariff, struggling for her breath,

Soon stiffened in the chill of death; And as the Victors turned away,

There came a sound o'er lake and bay, As if an earthquake shook the land,

While thunder roared on every hand; And, rushing out to learn the cause,

They found 'twas Nature's glad applause, Mixed with the crashing and the fall

Of Tariff's high and baneful wall. But oh, the Infant Industries!

Their fat hearts throbbed with fright; They moaned and groaned with piteous cries,

And streams of tears flowed from their eyes From morn till dewy night;

And all the weaker ones soon died, And found a grave by Tariff's side.

But others that had native strength, Grew used to honest food at length,

And, losing their ill-gotten fat, Grew self-supporting after that;

While Agriculture, hour by hour, Renewed his strength with wondrous power,

And, able now to bear his toil, Soon killed the weeds that choked his soil.

And Commerce, finding he was free, Soon launched his vessels on the sea;

While Labor sang in joyous song How Brotherhood should conquer wrong.

So Uncle Sam said to his spouse: "To-day we will renew our vows,

And try to live those golden rules We learned in Jeffersonian schools."

Brooklyn. CHARLES M. STANLEY.

## NEW YORK'S SHAME.

Rev. Heber Newton on Municipal Politics.

Here is a city which depends upon its commerce and upon the marvelous harbor which providence has given to it. What have we done to preserve it? What a sight for the incoming stranger and critic of our institutions is that flotilla of dirt scows waiting to dump their filthy cargo into our magnificent harbor! Contrast now what Glasgow has done. Finding itself situated on a little muddy creek, it has deepened and widened it so that the largest ocean steamer may come up to its wharves. See Manchester, too, an island city, carrying out a gigantic scheme in order to make itself into a port of entry. Study those nasty wooden piers of ours and contrast them with Liverpool with its miles of solid granite wharves, and still aspiring to better its accommodations for shipping.



## SINGLE TAX NEWS.

## SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government; the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments, or a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or in rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share through free exchanges in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies, and corporations which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on any one who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave every one free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public uses that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

1. Each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

2. All men are equally entitled to what God has created and to what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community.

## THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,  
12 UNION SQUARE,  
NEW YORK, May 20, 1890.

The single tax enrolment committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion.

Since issuing its circular of May 1 the committee has received numerous letters urging it to keep the petition going until the next congress assembles—the writers believing that not only will the new congress be more favorably inclined to give us a hearing, but that the petition by that time will have assumed such proportions as to command respect. The communications from Messrs. Madison and Ringemann in our "Roll of States" calling for from 200,000 to 1,000,000 signatures are fair samples of what some of the friends of the committee think should be done.

The committee has on its roll of "workers" about 2,600 names, and as the signatures to date number 82,497, it will be seen that the signatures sent in average a little less than thirty-two to each "worker." To collect 1,000,000 signatures seems quite out of the question, but if each of the 2,600 men and women on the committee's roll will send us sixty-four in addition to those already received, a very formidable petition of 250,000 signatures will be ready for the Fifty-second congress in December, 1891. What is your good pleasure, ladies and gentlemen?

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work remain as reported last week, viz., \$3,329.85.

Cash contributions for the week ending May 20 are as follows:

Wm. Rhode, Aspin, Col. . . . .	25
Patrick J. Kelly, New Haven, Conn. . . . .	50
Mrs. M. A. Crane, Brooklyn, N. Y. . . . .	25
Edward Hill, Pittsburg, Pa. . . . .	52
S. Ettinger, New York city . . . . .	75
"C. H." Cleveland, Ohio . . . . .	2 00
W. A. Hunter, Oakland, Cal. . . . .	50
Thomas Floyd, New York city . . . . .	1 00
H. H. Hoffman, Sioux City, Ia. . . . .	1 00
Paul T. Albright, Philadelphia, Pa. . . . .	1 00
Sundry contributions in postage stamps . . . . .	96

Contributions previously acknowledged . . . . . 762 58

Total . . . . . \$771 51

Less error in contribution of R. Wilson (STANDARD, April 30) . . . . . 90

Total . . . . . \$770 41

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week . . . . . 81,430

Signatures received since last report . . . . . 1,067

Total . . . . . 82,497

For news budget see "Roll of States" below.

G. ST. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

## NEW YORK CITY.

JOHN DE WITT WARNER IN FAVOR OF ABOLISHING PERSONAL PROPERTY TAXES

Last Thursday evening John De Witt Warner delivered an interesting address to the Manhattan single tax club on "The liberation of personal property from taxation." He premised his remarks by asserting that every community should have the right to say how it should raise the money to support itself and pay its dues to the state and general governments. In his opinion direct taxation was the fairest method, though there were many people who did not think so; but he was free to say that the most wasteful of all taxes was the protective tariff tax, which no honest or courageous man ought to stand— which he ought to "kick" against with all his might. But, being good citizens, we must continue to pay this tax until our neighbors come to see its iniquity, as we have seen it.

Money must be raised to support government, said Mr. Warner, and the question for us to consider is how it can best be raised so as to fall equally on all citizens in proportion to the advantages they receive from the community. Is our present method good enough? I think not. The system of taxing personal property is universally conceded to be a failure, opening the door to fraud, robbery and blackmail. Honest men pay it; but men who are willing to lie always escape. We cannot reach personal property to tax it. Read the daily report of bank deposits; you will see that they amount to more than the entire sum on which personal property taxes are paid. A fire in one of our large downtown stores shows, in the estimate of loss incurred, how immense must be the amount of personal property in goods in this city subject to tax, but on which no tax is collected. A fire in a Fifth or Madison avenue mansion shows how great is the amount in furniture and articles of house adornment which also fails to be taxed. And even when assessors do try to reach personal property—when they go behind the oath of the person liable to taxation—and find property not included in the schedule—

even then it is almost impossible to collect the tax.

Some years ago, despite his oath that the value of his personal property amounted to only some nominal sum, the assessors, on facts in their possession, assessed the late William H. Vanderbilt on \$8,000,000. He was cornered, it is true; but he said he wouldn't pay it, because there were other people, to his positive knowledge, who were rich but who did not pay a cent personal taxes. And in the end the matter was compromised on the basis of \$2,000,000, which all will agree was not ten per cent of the value of the taxable personal property held by him. He wasn't altogether wrong in refusing to pay the tax—nobody pays it if they can help it. The truth about this thing is, everybody knows that the personal property tax is a humbug. The bureau for the collection of personal taxes is nothing more nor less than a bureau authorized by law to levy blackmail on our citizens. It rarely makes a return to the city; and half a dozen times within comparatively a few years it has been robbed by the officials conducting it.

New York city is the great commercial center of this country. To it all the capital of the United States would drift if there were no bars in the way. But what is the fact? The personal property tax on banks and corporations drive them to other states and countries to organize—in other words, capital is driven away.

The proper thing to tax is real estate. It is here and must stay here. All the progress of civilization, all the increase of population, benefits real estate and increases its value; so that it should be taxed for government support. If we would remove all personal taxes there would be a wonderful increase in the volume of business, and an increased demand for workers. While I am in favor, said Mr. Warner, of putting all taxes on land values, I recognize that the public mind is not yet prepared to accept that idea; so it is wisdom to go only as far as the public will go with us. Having lifted that tax, we will have made the lifting of other taxes that much easier.

At the close of his address Mr. Warner invited questions.

The parlors are being painted, and will not be in condition, so the regular Thursday evening entertainment will have to be postponed for a week.

## BROOKLYN.

THE BROOKLYN SINGLE TAX MEN WILL HOLD A RECEPTION THIS EVENING.

The members of the Brooklyn single tax club are very much elated over the appearance of their new club house now that they have got it in presentable shape, and when the set of handsome pictures, presented by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, have been placed on the walls, they will add a great deal to the attractiveness of the house. They hope to see a large number of their friends of both sexes at their opening reception this evening. An attractive musical and literary programme has been prepared, in which several prominent artists will take part, and the latter portion of the evening will be devoted to dancing.

Mr. Louis F. Post, president of the Manhattan single tax club, will be the guest of the evening.

A supper will be served to those who wish it, at a moderate price.

The club house is No. 198 Livingston street. Visitors from New York and Jersey City can take Fulton avenue cars to Hoyt street, walk one block south to Livingston and turn to the right. Next Sunday evening Mr. J. De Witt Warner will address the club on the subject of "Brooklyn's interest in freer trade."

## NEW YORK STATE.

THE PEOPLE OF PUMPTOWN "KICKING" AGAINST INCREASED TAXES.

Meyer Stork, Oneida.—Those who sign the petition here are in full sympathy with our cause, and say they will be on hand when the time comes.

T. J. Skidmore, Seneca Falls.—The leaven of single tax is even working here in Pump-town, and perhaps the people will get their eyes opened after their assessments have been raised a few times more. They have been raising them here this spring, and there is great kicking, but it will do them no good, until they bestir themselves.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

"OUR ONLY SALVATION IS THROUGH THE SINGLE TAX."

J. K. Hiscock, Rosindale.—Our only salvation is through the single tax and it will come if we do our duty. My socialistic friends are, many of them, honest, but they are stupid when they do not in this great single tax movement take the very step they ought to take if they hope to realize a better condition for mankind.

I spent five years of the best of my life in Victoria, Australia, from 1853 to 1858. It is the best place on earth for Henry George to get a hearing. They are ahead of all other people as thinkers and they will accept the single tax inside of five years.

R. D. Terry, Fitchburg.—Among the signatures to the petition which I have sent to the

enrolment committee is that of the Rev. C. M. Addison, rector of the Episcopal church here, who has confessed himself an unlimited single tax convert. Another signature is that of a well known lawyer (J. McMahon), who is getting a slight glimpse of the cat and is ready to see more.

Edwin A. Hallett, Dorchester, Boston.—Since Mr. Herne spoke in Dorchester hall the single tax has caused much discussion, and people that would not speak about it are now asking many questions of me.

## CONNECTICUT.

THE SINGLE TAX ADVANCING IN BRIDGEPORT.

Eva F. Hersey, Bridgeport.—I wish to announce to you that our single tax club under the all-embracing name of "Social Science" is not dead. No, indeed! We have had a splendid meeting. Every seat filled, and as fine a looking audience as any church in the city could boast of. The exercises were opened with piano music. Then followed an explanation of social science by Mr. Wm. J. Gorsuch (who, by the way, is head, body and soul of our club), in reply to the question asked him "What is social science?" Next course was the *piece d' resistance*, a lecture by the same speaker; topic: "Are You a Christian?"

Patrick J. Kelly, New Haven.—I have had very little trouble in getting signatures to the petition.

## OHIO.

WORKINGMEN INTERESTED—A NEW METHOD OF PROPAGANDA.

Frank H. Ringemann, Cincinnati.—I have had the pleasure of explaining the idea of the single tax propaganda to a home circle, or family gathering, called together for that purpose, and I must say with good results. The San Francisco address by Henry George was the opening of the evening's entertainment; selections of music and recitations followed; then the pamphlet, "It is the Law of Christ," after which an explanation of the single tax proved to most earnestly interest those present. Could this same idea be encouraged in family circles it would cause a lively interest to be taken in the good work. I think we ought to be taking our second and best breath at this time, and not stop until 200,000 rolls up as signers of the petition.

James R. Angiers, Akron.—Since the inception of the movement the prospects for the final and early triumph of our principles in this vicinity were never more assuring.

A. R. Wynn, Toledo.—I have just arrived from a trip through Michigan and Ohio, and can truthfully say that I find the people becoming more and more interested in the tax question. The circulating of the petition is bearing, and will continue to bear, a large crop of new recruits that are always anxious to carry the work forward.

J. G. Galloway, Dayton.—The trades assembly of this city, and the Plow and Hammer association of the county are going to have a grand labor picnic on June 7. Speaking will be a feature of the day, and our friends will take advantage of the occasion to explain our principles. The trades assembly will endeavor to form a mock congress, consisting of representatives of all branches of labor, in which will be discussed questions affecting their interests. Our friends will be there also.

I went the other evening into the hall of the stonecutters' union to get signatures to the petition. The union has set apart an evening for me to explain to them the objects to be accomplished by it, and I will endeavor at the same time to point out to them the influence the adoption of the single tax will have on the wage question.

## ILLINOIS.

THE CHICAGO MEN STIRRING UP THE ASSESSORS—THE WORKINGMEN OF QUINCY WILL SAY THEIR SAY IN THE NEXT ELECTION.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, May 16.—At last night's meeting Mr. J. T. Ripley, chairman of our committee on local taxation, reported the result of visits paid to two of the five or six assessors who make up the tax rolls of this expansive city. Mr. Ripley was accompanied by Mr. E. O. Brown on these visits, and they were courteously received, both assessors giving them a careful hearing and promising to rectify some of the grosser abuses that have become established in the valuation of property. Mr. James Malcolm, from the same committee, called attention to a recent sale of land in one of the annexed wards. The transaction was the more notable because the land in question had been purchased about forty years ago for \$175—sixty-one acres. The tract was transferred the other day for \$350,000—the annual increase of value exceeding \$8,000 on the average. This tract in 1858 was listed for taxation at \$8,000—a little more than one-fortieth of its real value. This was given as a typical case, and it will serve, with others of a similar character, in the effort we shall make before the special committee of the council to enforce the need of radical reform. Mr. Ripley has prepared a careful letter on the subject to be sent to all the assessors and to the press.

Mr. John Z. White was the speaker last



evening. He never has acquitted himself with greater credit than on this occasion, and he was given a closeness of attention that few men could have commanded. His talk was directed to a plain statement of the single tax doctrine, and I have never heard the subject better presented, so clear was it, so logical, so brief, yet comprehensive and solid the argument. In the power of analysis Mr. White has few equals. He thinks and speaks with a lucidity which is really extraordinary, and he is not without the arts of the orator. It is a pity that his talents cannot be more widely utilized. At the conclusion of his address, which was frequently applauded, he answered a number of knotty questions, in this feat showing his powers to the best advantage. He was given a hearty vote of thanks.

On next Thursday evening the tariff question will again engage our attention. This time free trade will have its innings, and Mr. F. W. Meadows, one of our very first members, will lead the discussion. I hope to get a tariff-for-revenue man to present that side at some meeting in the early future. We have had three protectionist speeches—two of them by very prominent republicans—but no "tariff reformer" has ever had the courage to face us, although more than one has been invited.

Our meetings occur ever Thursday evening at the Grand Pacific, and all who are interested, and especially all who have seen the cut, are urged to attend and bring their friends.

C. F. Perry, Quincy.—The union wage workers of this city are preparing for a mass meeting, to be held some time before the election occurs, to which they will invite the candidates who return favorable answers to the questions submitted to them (printed in THE STANDARD of last week). Every effort will be made to make this the largest labor meeting ever held in this congressional district.

Henry Walker, Springfield.—I have just inclosed twenty-four signed petitions to the enrolment committee. I am mailing tracts to every clergyman in town, with, I think, good results.

#### KENTUCKY.

##### THE OLD MAN WHO HAS SEEN HIS ERROR.

John W. Greene, Louisville.—The way money flew around at our late primary election was a caution. It had a good effect, however, for it showed to some of our conservative people the necessity of a change in our election laws.

I went to the labor picnic on May 1, and was agreeably surprised at the number of single taxers I met there. Our movement has a healthy growth, which to the impatient and uninitiated may seem slow, but to the old 'uns it is most cheerful and bright for the near future.

William Riley, Lenoxburg.—I have seen seventy-three winters. I have voted for two Harrisons and protection, and now find it to be a fraud, a cheat and a lie. I see the truth at last, and will follow it.

#### MICHIGAN.

##### THE PETITION BECOMING POPULAR.

J. R. Gibbons, Saginaw.—Among the signers sent to the enrolment committee is that of A. B. Paine. He is a large brick manufacturer and employs quite a number of men. He thinks the single tax the best remedy yet proposed to settle the labor question. He has not fully seen the cat yet, but I know he will admire her when in full view. Another of the signers, Mr. E. H. Brown, is a republican who never heard much of the single tax. He like the theory, and for the little he knows about it, says it is all right and just, but thinks all movements for the benefit of the masses should and must originate and be carried forward by divine inspiration, which he thinks can be found in the republican party only. So all that is necessary is to convince him of our honesty.

C. F. Messmore, Jackson.—The single tax men here never lose an opportunity to present the single tax when discussing the great revolution now going on among the toilers.

It may be of some interest to you to know what kind of men are signing our petition. Martin G. Loennecker, ex-mayor and proprietor of Industrial News, is one; four are printers, and J. W. Fitzmaurice, another signer, is employed on the editorial staff of the Courier. I am a member of Jackson typographical union, which has a membership of about thirty-five, about two-thirds of whom are in favor of the single tax, and all but three have signed the petition.

N. Markle, Detroit.—I find the people more ready to study the single tax than ever before.

#### MINNESOTA.

##### PRINTING HIS OWN TRACTS AND CIRCULATING THEM.

A. M. Goodrich, Minneapolis.—I have printed a lot of tracts and put them in envelopes on which was printed "Read and Reflect," and then, with the assistance of two boys, have placed them in about every house in three precincts of the ward in which I live, using in this way some 3,000 tracts. If my

courage holds out I expect to cover the whole ward. I find they are much less likely to be lost or wasted when put in envelopes.

George C. Madison, St. Paul.—I have just sent ninety-seven petitions to the enrolment committee. That committee will make a mistake if they will be satisfied with less than 1,000,000 signatures.

#### LOUISIANA.

##### TALKING OF THE SINGLE TAX—"EITHER I OR MINE SHALL SEE THE TRUTH PREVAIL."

I. J. David, Camp Harney.—It is but little trouble to get signatures now, not that the single tax is accepted, wholly, but because it is being more talked about than ever before, and men are getting anxious to learn more about it. We have now some twenty or more who are single taxers in toto; and it is easy to see that the idea is beginning to underlie thought to a considerable degree.

A. Hilton, Alexandria.—I sometimes get disheartened at the dense ignorance of men who in a money making sense are my superiors. They will not read nor think except when they can make money. As for the good of their fellow creatures, they do not care; but I am satisfied our cause will be carried in time. I may not live to see it, but I have a son and he has a son, so my children or grandchildren may live to see it if I don't.

Geo. W. Roberts, New Orleans.—Our president, Jas. Middleton, gave us an address at our meeting last night, May 8, on the subject of the "Unearned increment and its relation to monopolies." The meeting was better attended than usual, quite a number of visitors being present, all of whom appeared well pleased. Our club is growing slowly and our prospects are better now than ever before.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA.

##### BROKAW ASKS FOR A MEETING AT HURON JUNE 4.

W. E. Brokaw, Watertown.—I went over to Gary again last Saturday, the 10th, and was taken out into the country about twelve miles, where I addressed a gathering of farmers in the afternoon. In the evening I was taken some three miles farther and exhibited the "cat" to an alliance meeting. All present at both meetings who had not already signed the petition did so. Questions were asked, and much satisfaction expressed at the answers. Some said they had never heard of the single tax until recently, but thought that the farmers ought to do all they could to secure it. Several bought books and tracts. In talking with the Gary men I learned that nearly all of them were protection republicans two years ago, and some were six months ago.

I have just sent the enrolment committee thirty-six more signatures. No. 1 is a prominent republican, but a member of our tariff reform club. No. 2 is an Englishman who brought considerable wealth to this country and has lost it in farming. All single tax men in South Dakota who are interested in organized effort are requested to meet with us at Huron, June 4, to consider what is best to do. The state alliance meets at the same time, and those of us who have any influence with its members should be there to aid in bringing our views before them. The hard times and present uncertainty of crops will prevent many from coming, but those who can should come and get acquainted with each other and plan for more active work.

#### MONTANA.

##### A SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE TO BE HELD AT BOULDER, JUNE 5.

Will Kennedy, Boulder.—The result of the circular issued by me, asking the single tax men of Montana whether they favored a conference, has resulted in a call for a state convention, to be held in Boulder on Thursday morning, June 5, at 11 o'clock.

The object of the convention will be to discuss the proper and most efficient methods of bringing to the attention of the people of the state the single tax idea, or any other plan which promises to relieve the toiling millions of the burdens which they are now unjustly compelled to bear. The question of a state organization will be considered, and, if such an organization is effected, whether it shall be purely educational or shall become an active factor in the political movements of the day.

To this convention are invited all supporters of the single tax doctrine. As this question is practically the question of the just distribution of wealth, the producers of the wealth of the country have certainly a right to be heard in the matter, and therefore all labor organizations and farmers' alliances in the state are invited to send delegates to the convention, either as representing organized societies or as representing bodies of private citizens.

The following single tax men throughout the state have authorized the attaching of their names to this call:

Butte—C. A. Lindsay, John Gabel, J. J. Murry, E. Wilkoshesky, Wm. M. Hand, John Bone, Samuel Mulville, William Leyshon, Michael Anderson, James Fay, George W. Story, John Lindstrom, Odla Rasmussen, George Wilson, E. J. Harris, Michael P. Dal-

ton, Frank Yeoman, C. M. Pohl, J. H. Kiskaddon, J. M. Evans, G. F. Bartlett.

Helena—J. M. Clements, Walter Kleinsorge, George L. Stewart, Watt Pierce, Denver P. Dayton, Waldemar Stein.

Wickes—Louis Bush, H. G. Garing, Wm. Emmett, Charles L. Shambaugh, Robert Stallard.

Marvsville—Wm. McKendrick, S. F. Ralston, N. A. Hall, J. H. Ralston, H. C. Bacon, J. W. Imes, C. G. Osborne.

Walkerville—Charles W. Hanscom, A. J. Washburn.

Boulder—R. A. Hammer, Will Kennedy.

Anaconda—Joe Oker.

Glendive—A. H. Sawyer.

Meadow Creek—Theo. Schweitzer.

Diamond City—James Sullivan.

Creamery—F. Latus.

Clancey—W. W. Harnden.

South Butte—Arthur Creasy.

Elkhorn—H. S. Davis.

The Northern Pacific and Montana Central railroads have agreed to give a round trip ticket for one and one-fifth fares to all who attend the convention, provided such persons have secured from the railroad agents at the starting points a certificate or receipt of their purchase of a ticket to Boulder. This is quite liberal on the part of the roads, especially when it is remembered that the Northern Pacific, which was the first road to respond to the request for reduced rates, is a land grant road, and has about twenty million acres of land in Montana.

I am much pleased with the character of the responses to the circular, and feel encouraged in the belief that the convention will have a good attendance in numbers, and also be of good quality in the ability and standing of those who are present. What will be the result of the convention is of course a very uncertain matter, but I trust that it will at least have the effect of uniting the single tax men of the state and bringing the question prominently before the people.

Personally, I believe that the single tax men ought to organize for political action this fall—at least to a certain extent. I think such a move would be very effective in bringing our ideas to the front, and I think the present strength is such as to give the party a standing that will command respect from the other parties. The only officers to be elected at the general election in November will be a congressman and one state senator from each of nine counties in the state. There promises to be a rather lively campaign, but with so few candidates in the field there will be a fine opportunity to bring principles and not men to the front. I favor making nominations for state senator in every county where a senator is to be elected. I believe that with proper nominations and proper work, three or four single tax men ought to be in the next state senate. If such should be the result, I have no doubt that the labor element in the house of representatives would unite with them, and that the united element would be the equal in strength of either of the other two parties. With such a standing there could be no doubt of the single tax becoming the vital issue in Montana politics, with victory for our cause the sure result.

It may seem extravagant to hope for such a great measure of success, but I have some reason for the faith that is in me. I think that the single taxers could make nominations in at least two and probably more counties which would receive the indorsement of one or the other of the great parties, and without the single taxer yielding his rights or his principles in any particular. Then there is general dissatisfaction with both the old parties, and it only needs a party with a principle to fight for to bring it immediately to the front in the hearts of the people. The republican leaders in the state are professing to believe in protection of the most radical kind. The greater proportion of the democratic leaders are protectionists at heart, and the democratic platform will in all probability be like that of last year—a protection platform. The only ground upon which the democratic party could this year ask the votes of the single taxers or independent voters generally would be because of the election fraud by which the democrats were deprived of the control of the state legislature and the consequent fraudulent seating of two republicans in the United States senate.

But there has not been an election in Montana, certainly not within the past ten years, in which the democrats did not commit frauds of the most pronounced character, and there is hardly a prominent democrat who cannot be shown to have compromised with and indorsed election frauds of equally as vile a character as that which seated Sanders and Power in the United States senate. The only difference is that the reward was not so great. So it seems hardly worth while for the independent voter to fly into the democratic arms because the republicans have committed election frauds. Unless, therefore, there is a new or independent ticket in the field, many voters will stay at home this year.

Apart from the prospect of success, I think the single taxers should put men in the field this year. As it is, our strength is unknown and can command no respect from either of the other parties, when those parties go to making platforms. Under the Australian system of voting, which fortunately we have in this state, we can develop our strength, and there is no reason to doubt that that strength is

sufficient for us to say to one or the other political party: "You must give us a platform and men on that platform in some accord with the principles of justice or we will vote the other ticket as the worse of two evils, in the hope that the worse evil be the sooner corrected." When we can do this, we may have some reason for supporting a ticket made by a party already in existence. As parties go in Montana, at present, I see no reason why single taxers should be asked to support either of the two great parties.

I wish I were able to send THE STANDARD for the next month to every elector in this precinct at least. I would hope thereby to excite enough interest in the convention to make it the greatest local gathering ever seen here. Perhaps that can be accomplished anyhow. But we need literature, and especially THE STANDARD. I send my copy out every week, and also two other copies which a New York friend sends me. But I could send out twenty or thirty copies to good effect if I could only afford to buy them. There is one thing I can do. If any subscriber to THE STANDARD will send me his copy regularly every week (or subscribe for a copy to be sent me from the office) I will in return send him regularly a copy of my paper, the Age. It is the only paper in Montana supporting the single tax doctrine, and, while principally devoted to local affairs, might still prove interesting to some of the people in the "effete east." If any one would like a sample copy of the Age before going into a scheme of this kind I shall be pleased to gratify him on receipt of notice to that effect.

#### CALIFORNIA.

##### MAKING CONVERTS EVERY DAY—WANTS 500,000 SIGNATURES TO THE PETITION—THEY REFUSED A YEAR AGO, BUT SIGN NOW.

John A. Maynard, San Francisco.—I have forwarded 200 petitions. We are making converts to our cause every day by propaganda work, and have had considerable literature printed, which we send out through the state and the coast. Our headquarters and reading room proved too small, so we had to engage the adjoining room, and now have as fine a reading room and library as is on this coast. Mr. J. E. Mills of this city, who has been east nearly all winter, spoke at our Sunday public meeting, and gave us quite an account of how the work was progressing in New York and the east generally.

D. Stuart, Oakland.—I have sent in 82 names to the petition. I find that men sign the petition much more readily now than when the work was first started. Many will hesitate at first, but after a little conversation will admit that information on the subject is desirable, and that the report from such a committee as congress is asked to appoint would be likely to place much valuable information before the country. So that now if it is deemed desirable I see no reason why the single tax workers throughout the country might not in a reasonable time increase the number of names to half a million.

Isaac McCloskey, Santa Monica.—Two-thirds of those I asked, signed the petition. The refusals to sign, together with the most lamentable and astonishing ignorance and indifference in relation to social questions, I found mainly among the aristocracy and the extremely poor and destitute. It is from these two classes of people that our danger comes. Some readily signed that refused one year ago.

#### NEW JERSEY.

William J. Walsh, Elizabeth.—I am having good success with the petition. Single tax men are growing up like mushrooms in our district.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

Mark F. Roberts, Pittsburg.—We have the "moving fever" here, too. We are holding forth at 64 Fourth avenue now, and propose to start in for the summer with renewed vigor. The single tax is beginning to be an interesting question for debating societies in this city. Several debates have already taken place in which our friends have had no trouble whatever in overcoming their opponents.

#### DELAWARE.

David McWilliams, Rockford, Wilmington.—I am doing all I can to get signatures to the petition.

#### VIRGINIA.

Eugene Withers, Dauville.—I am going to a farmers' alliance meeting next week, and I intend distributing our tracts and getting signers to the petition.

#### MISSOURI.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis.—At the last meeting of the Single tax league an address on the single tax, delivered by H. Martin Williams to the workingmen of Bevier, was read. This speech was published in full in the Mason Times, one of the best papers of the Missouri country press, and edited by the chairman of the democratic congressional central committee for the First district.

#### KANSAS.

George W. Hatch, Coffeyville.—The farmers and others are getting their eyes open, and getting angry at the contemptible by-







## SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and all newly formed organizations are asked to report promptly, either to the Enrollment committee or The Standard.)

## ARKANSAS.

**LITTLE ROCK.**—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hemming, 1910 Main st.

## CALIFORNIA.

**SAN FRANCISCO.**—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909 1/2 Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pleace; sec., G. A. Hubbell; fin. sec., John A. Maynard. Address of all officers, 941 Market st.

**SACRAMENTO.**—Single tax club of Sacramento. Every Friday evening, Dr. Reed's office, 6th and K sts. Pres., Dr. Thos. B. Reed; sec., C. W. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

**OAKLAND.**—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1056 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haddins.

**LOS ANGELES.**—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., I. J. Harrell; sec., Clarence A. Miller.

**SAN DIEGO.**—Single tax county committee room. Nevelette book stand, 444 5th st.; room open every day and night. George B. Whaley, chairman.

**BLACK DIAMOND.**—Contra Costa county single tax committee. Jeff. A. Bailey, sec.

## COLORADO.

**STATE.**—Colorado State single tax association, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

**DENVER.**—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 303 16th st. Free reading room open every day, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., F. H. Monroe, 2351 Marion st.

**PUEBLO.**—Commonwealth single tax club. First and Fourth Thursdays at office of D. B. V. Reeve, Union av. Pres., D. B. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger, Pueblo Smelting and Refining Co.

**GRAND JUNCTION.**—Mesa county single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., James W. Bucklin; sec., Geo. Smith.

**CANYON CITY.**—Single tax committee; sec., Dr. Frank P. Blake.

## CONNECTICUT.

**NEW HAVEN.**—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening, room 11, 102 Orange st. Pres., Willard D. Warren; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day st.

**MERIDEN.**—Meriden single tax club. 3 p.m. every Sunday, Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Willis, P. O. box 1342.

## DAKOTA.

**STATE.**—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box A, Watertown.

**RAPID CITY.**—Black Hills single tax league. Last Saturday in each month, Library hall. Pres., Judge Levi McGee; sec., Francis H. Clark.

**MADISON.**—Lake county single tax club. Chairman, Prof. E. H. Evanson.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

**WASHINGTON.**—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 609 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

## FLORIDA.

**PENSACOLA.**—Pensacola single tax club No. 1. Tuesday evenings, K. of L. hall, corner of Zaragoza and Palafox sts. Pres., J. Dennis Wolfe; sec., James McHugh.

**TAMPA.**—Thomas G. Shearman single tax league. First Monday in each month, business meeting; Sundays, public speaking. Pres., C. E. Ainsworth; sec., John H. McCormick.

## GEORGIA.

**ATLANTA, Ga.**—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 67 Whitehall st.

**AUGUSTA.**—Augusta single tax club. Every Friday evening, Hussar hall. Pres., Ed. Flury; sec., George Haines, care of Loflin & Meyer.

## ILLINOIS.

**CHICAGO.**—Chicago single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

**SPRINGFIELD.**—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrea, 623 Black ave.

**JACKSONVILLE.**—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

**SPARTA.**—Single tax committee. Sec., Wm. R. Bailey.

**QUINCY.**—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 327 S. 3d.

## INDIANA.

**STATE.**—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 155 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; B. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

**CLINTON.**—Single tax club. Sunday afternoons, 8 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., Isaac H. Strain; sec., L. O. Bishop.

**FORT WAYNE.**—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermut; vice pres., J. M. Schwerzgen; sec., Henry Cohen.

**INDIANAPOLIS.**—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 8 p.m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

**EVANSVILLE.**—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

**RICHMOND.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 106 South Third st.; sec., M. Riche, 923 South A st.

## IOWA.

**BURLINGTON.**—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 313 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., L. Wilbur Moore, 900 Hedge ave.

**DES MOINES.**—Single tax club. Pres., H. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballance.

**COUNCIL BLUFFS.**—Council Bluffs single tax

club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 230 p.m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., L. Kinchen, 838 W. Broadway.

**ALLERTON.**—Tax reform club. Every Thursday evening, Vest's hall. Pres., A. J. Morgan; sec., D. D. Shirlev.

**MAINTOWN.**—Single tax committee. Pres., James Skegg; sec., Hans Erickson.

**MASON CITY.**—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osborne's office. Pres., J. A. Seranton; sec., J. S. Mott.

## KANSAS.

**ABILENE.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. W. Brooks; vice-pres., H. Charters; sec., A. L. Russel.

**GROVE HILL.**—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

## LOUISIANA.

**NEW ORLEANS.**—Louisiana single tax club. Meets every Thursday night at 8 p.m. at 205 Canal st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

## MAINE.

**AUBURN.**—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 1237th st.

**LEWISTON.**—Single tax committee. Every Wednesday evening, 79 Summer st. Chairman, F. D. Lyford; sec., Joseph Walsh, 79 Summer st.

## MARYLAND.

**BALTIMORE.**—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p.m. in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Orden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st.

**Baltimore single tax society.** Every Sunday evening, 8 p.m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schoufarber; W. H. Kelly.

**Single tax association of East Baltimore.** Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

**BOSTON.**—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 27 Pemberton square.

**Neponset single tax league.** Every Thursday evening, 839 1/2 Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

**Dorchester single tax club.** Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Rooms open every day from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Pres., Ed Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building.

**Roxbury single tax club.** Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

**STONEHAM.**—Stoneham single tax league. Pres., Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham.

**LYNN.**—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 331 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

**WORCESTER.**—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Meetings first Thursday of each month, class room, Y. M. C. A. building, 20 Pearl st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

**LAWRENCE.**—Lawrence single tax club. Every Thursday evening, Col. J. P. Sweeney's office. Pres., Col. John P. Sweeney; sec., John J. Donovan, city clerk's office.

**HYDE PARK.**—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

**ORANGE.**—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., H. W. Hammond; sec., Charles G. Kidder.

**NEWBURYPORT.**—Merrimack assembly. Saturday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimack st.

**MALDEN.**—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

## MICHIGAN.

**STURGIS.**—Sturgis club of investigation. Pres., Rufus Spaulding; sec., Thomas Harding.

**SAGINAW.**—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Wegener; sec., Jas. Duffy, 303 State st.

## MINNESOTA.

**MINNEAPOLIS.**—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 309 Lumber exchange.

**Minneapolis single tax club.** Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hamersley.

**ST. PAUL.**—Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., R. C. Morgan, Northern Pacific railroad office.

## MISSOURI.

**ST. LOUIS.**—St. Louis single tax league. s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2733 Gamble street.

**"Benton School of Social Science."** Saturday, 8 p.m., 6339 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry B. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

**LA DUE.**—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

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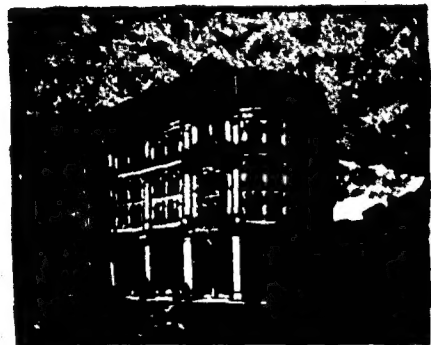
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The fetters off that bound her in the past,

Burst from the cruel chains that held her long,

And Right shall grandly triumph over Wrong.

Some time the darkened, narrow minds of men

Will broaden in a larger growth, and then

With sweeter, purer laws our lives shall be

Led to the borders of Eternity.

Some time the thrones of kings will lie in dust,

Their pomp and splendor lost in mold and rust.

What are they, kings and princes but in name?

One honest man would put them all to shame.

The flimsy shams and pretences, and all

The pettiness of human strife will fall

Like dead leaves on a wind-blown autumn day,

And Justice o'er the land shall hold her sway.

Some time, some time, O, trusting hearts that wait,

I see it written in the Book of Fate,

That rank and riches, dogma, race and creed

Shall count for naught beside one golden deed.

Some time, some time—it may be near or far,

But I see it calmly shining like a star—

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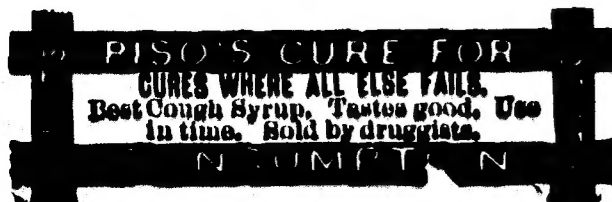
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